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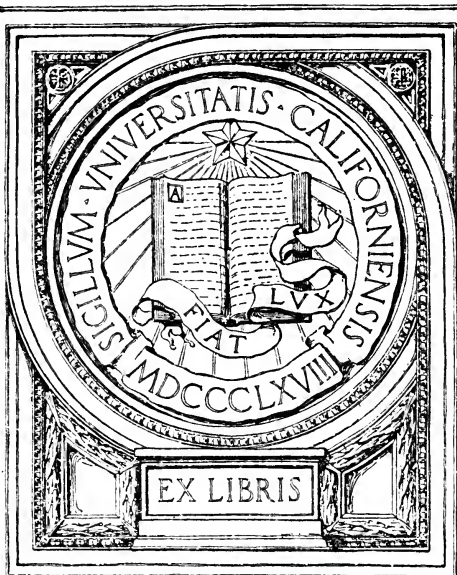
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JERUSALEM TEMPLE  
FESTIVITIES

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION ZUR  
ERLANGUNG DER DOCTORWÜRDE BEI  
DER HOHEN PHILOSOPHISCHEN  
FAKULTÄT DER UNIVERSI-  
TÄT ZU HEIDELBERG  
VORGELEGT VON  
JOSEPH HOCHMAN  
AUS LONDON



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# JERUSALEM TEMPLE FESTIVITIES

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## VITA

ICH JOSEPH HOCHMAN wurde, am 13 Januar 1883, als Sohn des Herrn Aaron Hochman und dessen Ehefrau Ethel Leah, geborene Golding, zu Memel geboren ; kam jedoch schon anderthalb Jahre später nach London. In Juni 1901 an der Universität zu London immatrikuliert, besuchte ich dort Jews' und University Colleges. Im Jahre 1902 wurde ich zum Hollier Scholar (University College, London) ernannt, und erhielt im October 1905 ein Diplom als B.A. with honours). In Dezember desselben Jahres erfolgte meine Immatrikulation an der Universität zu Berlin wo ich bis zum Schluss des Wintersemesters 1906-7 Semitische Sprachwissenschaft und Philosophie studierte. Ich hörte die Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren DDr. Barth, Delitzsch, Sachau, Winckler, Kleinert, Riehl, Simmel, Pfeiderer, v. Wilamowitz-Moelendorf, und des Herrn Privat-Dozenten Dr. Mittwoch. Auch das dortige Rabbinerseminar besuchte ich, und nahm an den Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren DDr. Steinschneider und Berliner sowie auch der Herren DDr. Hoffmann, Elbogen und Wohlgemuth Teil. In Mai 1907 wurde ich an der Universität zu Heidelberg immatrikuliert, wo ich bis zum Schluss des Sommersemesters die Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren DDr. Bezold, Becker und Windelband hörte.

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TO VINI  
AIRBORNE

6. 10. 7



## Introduction

THE following pages give a detailed account of two of the festivities celebrated in the Temple at Jerusalem, viz., (1) that connected with the presentation of the firstfruits, **BIKKURIM** ; (2) that celebrated in connexion with the water libations during the week of Tabernacles, the Water Feast. They thus do not pretend to do more than lift a corner of the curtain that hangs before this fruitful field of research. It is hoped that these pages may serve as a running commentary of philological and archaeological as well as historical interest on the passages treated. The clearness of definition herein sought after, for terms found obscure, will perhaps throw light on the dark places of neighbouring paths. The reconstruction here given is based on traditions preserved in the Mishna, Tosefta (ed. Zuckermann), the Halachic Midrashim, viz., Sifré (ed. Friedmann), Mekilta (ed. Friedmann), Sifré (ed. Weiss). Philo, Josephus and the New Testa-

## 2. INTRODUCTION

ment have also been drawn on. So also have both Talmudim, Maimonides, Rashi, and other commentaries. Our debt to the Halachic Midrashim, that Dr. D. Hoffmann has published, viz., a Meḳilta to Deuteronomy, and the Meḳilta de Rabbi Simon ben Yochai is also to be noted.

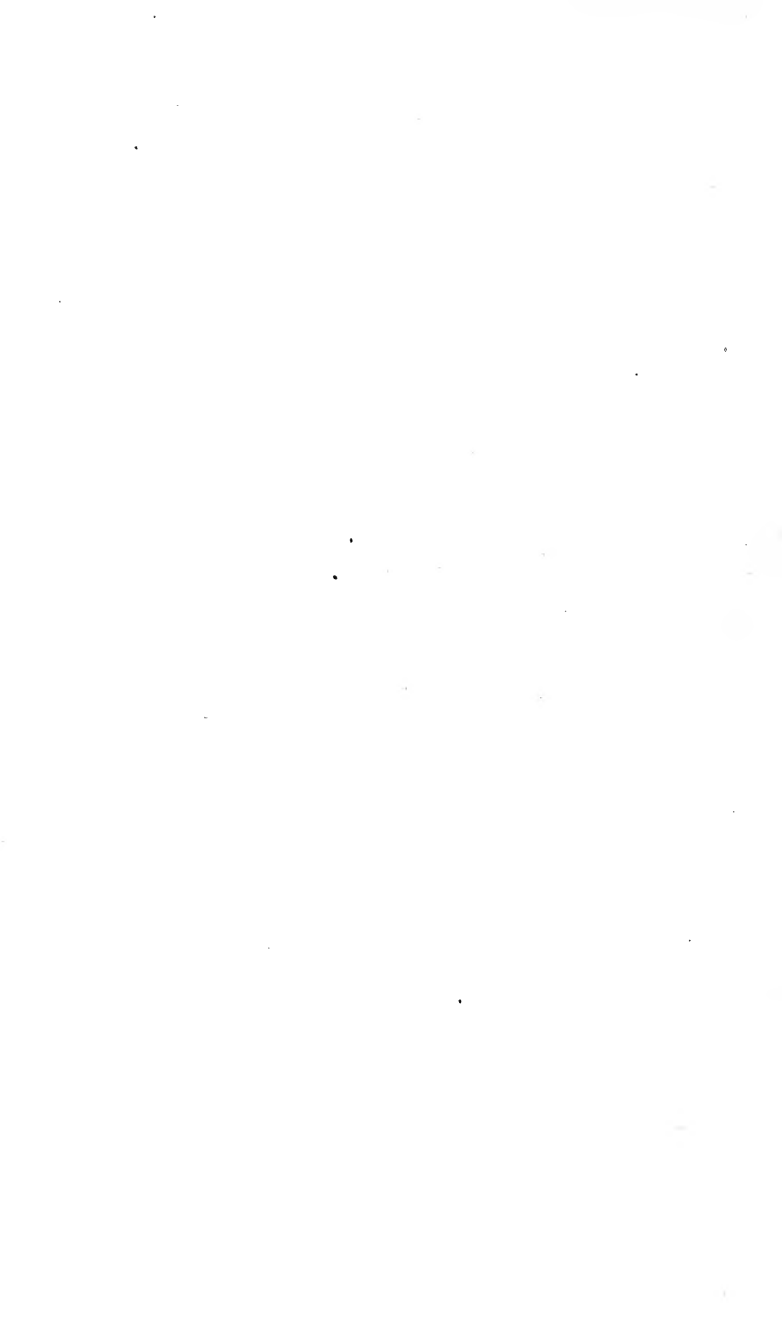
The following list of abbreviations used may prove helpful :—

b.	=Talmud Babli.
B.B.	=Baba Bathra.
Bik.	=BIKKURIM.
B.M.	=Baba Mezia.
B.Q.	=Baba Qama.
Bro.	=Brochoth.
Del. <i>Hwb.</i>	=Delitzsch. <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.</i>
D.S.	=Rabbinowicz. דקדוקי סופרים
Oxford Gesenius	=The Oxford Gesenius, <i>Hebrew Lexicon</i> , by Briggs, Brown and Driver.
J.	=Talmud Jerushalmi.
<i>J.Q.R.</i>	= <i>Jewish Quarterly Review.</i>
<i>K.A.T.</i> <sup>3</sup>	=Eb. Schrader. <i>Keilinschrift und A.T.</i> , von Winckler und Zimmern.
Levy, <i>N.H.</i>	=J. Levy. <i>Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch.</i>
Levy, <i>T.W.</i>	=J. Levy. <i>Targumwörterbuch.</i>
M.	=Mishna.
Meḳ.	=Meḳilta.
Meḳ. S.Y.	=Meḳilta de Rabbi Simon ben Yochai.
Men.	=Menachoth.
Mid.	=Middoth.

<i>Monatschrift</i>	= <i>Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.</i>
Pes.	=Pesachim.
<i>R.E.J.</i>	= <i>Revue des Études Juives.</i>
Sab.	=Šabbath.
Seb.	=Sebiith.
Smith, <i>Sem.</i> <sup>2</sup>	=W. Robertson Smith. <i>Religion of Semites.</i> Second Edition.
Suk.	=Sukkah.
Tem.	=Temurah.
Ter.	=Terumah.
Tos.	=Tosefta.
Yad.	=Maimonides. <i>Yad Hachazaqah.</i>
<i>Z.A.</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i>
Zeb.	=Zebachim.

The common abbreviations and the less frequent references given with adequate fullness in the text are not here included, and will be easily recognized. The Roman figures followed by Arabic numerals give chapter and paragraph or verse. Thus Deut. v. 1 = Deuteronomy, chapter 5, verse 1; Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 5 = Josephus, *Antiquities*, Book 15, chapter 11, paragraph 5.

The numbers in brackets refer to line on the page, e.g. Pes. 93*b* (3 bot.) = line 3 from bottom. Large and small numerals in brackets give page and line: e.g. Tos. Peah. iii. 1 (20<sup>25</sup>) = Tosefta Peah, chapter 3, paragraph 1, page 20, line 23.



# I

## Presentation of the Firstfruits :

### BIKKURIM

THE occasion of the presentation of the firstfruits, although not one of the three holy convocations of all males to Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> yet gave opportunity for pompous pilgrimage thither amid great festivity and rejoicing.<sup>2</sup> It was concerned with the fulfillment of the command, "The firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God."<sup>3</sup> The firstfruits formed one of the twenty-four gifts<sup>4</sup> which Israel presented to its priests<sup>5</sup> as compensation for the poverty imposed upon them in that they had been excluded from the possession of landed property.<sup>6</sup> They were stored in the Temple to be devoted to the support of its priests.<sup>7</sup> The fact that the BIKKURIM alone of all the offerings that were given to the priests by the Israelites had to be brought by them directly to the Temple<sup>8</sup> would indicate that these

became the property of the permanent priestly officials of the Temple in contrast to the other offerings which were distributed among the priests in the provincial districts. The records, however, tend to show that they were given to the ministering priests on duty at the temple. These, as will be shown, were not the priestly officials permanently at the Temple, but changing divisions from the provincial districts. The importance attached to the observance of the command concerning Bikkurim is evidenced by the reiteration of the warning.<sup>9</sup> The firstfruit offering is, in all probability, an institution of great antiquity,<sup>10</sup> was common to other ancient peoples,<sup>11</sup> whom it served as a token for the acknowledgment of God's bounty.

It is noteworthy that the firstfruit offering was regarded among the Jews as a fee paid by the worshipper to the priests, while among other peoples it was an offering to the Deity. Cf. Porphyry, *Abstin.* ii. 32: Πάντων δὲ μάλιστα καὶ πρώτη ἡ τῶν καρπῶν ἐστίν, ἧς καὶ ἀπάρακτεον μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῇ γῇ, τῇ τούτους ἀναδούσῃ.

Num. xviii. 12-13 points to an older conception of תְּרוּמָה (see below, p. 13, Note 41), and בכורים as an offering to God, the enjoyment of which he allows to the priests. This idea seems retained in the case of BIKKURIM

in so far that they must be presented at the Temple. Smith, *Sem.* pp. 240–241, regards the firstfruit offering as having been the ordinary source of the **מנחה** in ancient times, so that, like the latter, it was made over “not to the ministrant priests as a reward for their service, but to the priests as a body as the household of the sanctuary.” Originally, however, all offerings of produce to the priests will have been stored in the temple, and that these were regarded as rewards to the priests is indicated by Neh. xii. 44 (see below, p. 9, Note 23). The passage quoted above (Note 6) from the *De Festo Cophini* indicates that the **BIKKURIM** were in the post-exilic age, i.e. by the Jews properly so-called, regarded as a fee paid to the priests. Indeed, according to M. Bik. iii. end (cf. Yad iii. 1), they were given to the priests of the **משמר**, and these, as will be shown, were the ministrant priests as opposed to the priests who were the permanent officials at, and formed the household of, the temple. According to M. Bik. iii. 12 the firstfruits became the complete property of the priests, with which they might purchase slaves, land or cattle of any kind, even unclean. They could meet their private obligations with them and treat them entirely as their own property, whereas if

they were regarded as gifts to God, the enjoyment of which he allowed to the priests, they alone could have eaten them, and then only under fixed conditions, as W. Robertson Smith himself points out (*Sem.* pp. 239-40). The idea of a gift to God seems, in the Tanaitic and Philonic age at least, transferred and limited to the national firstfruit offering of the wave-loaves at Pentecost (Notes 48-52 and p. 13).

According to its wording the Biblical command would have reference to the first ripe of all fruits,<sup>12</sup> as seems to have been the case with the firstfruit offerings among other peoples of antiquity.<sup>13</sup> In the Mishna, however, the term firstfruits, i.e. בכורים, which gives its name to the tractate concerned with the regulations for their presentation, is one of definite application. Under it was understood the best<sup>14</sup> of the first ripe of the seven kinds of fruit referred to in Deut. viii. 8,<sup>15</sup> in their natural<sup>16</sup> dry<sup>17</sup> condition grown on land embraced within the territory included under the description of a land flowing with milk and honey,<sup>18</sup> and dedicated to be brought to the temple at Jerusalem<sup>19</sup> as a firstfruit offering.

Wellhausen, in his *Prolegomena*, fourth edition, p. 156, Anm., finds difficulty in defin-



ing the distinctions between ראשית בכורים מעשר and תרומת יד. We therefore re-examine the records in the hope of adding some clearness to the subject. We find תרומה and מעשר as a gift to God <sup>20</sup> stored in chambers at the Temple.<sup>21</sup> Of these we learn that the מעשר is so stored for the Levites and the תרומה for the priests.<sup>22</sup> We also learn of men appointed to gather in the תרומה and ראשית מעשרות for the Levites and priests, "for Judah found joy" על הכהנים ועל <sup>23</sup>הלויים העומדים. The expression העומדים may well be connected with the terms עמור and מעמר, to be discussed below. In that case these offerings are here regarded as rewards to the ministering priests and Levites from the provincial districts (cf. p. 6). A third term, ראשית, is here (Neh. xii. 44) introduced. This term also occurs for wool and also for wine and oil in a prepared state, given to the priests.<sup>24</sup> Similarly of fruit in a prepared state in Num. xviii. 12, which verse speaks of תרומה (cf. on חלב below, p. 13) given by the Israelites to God and by God to the priests. Neh. x. 36 introduces בכורים as the denotation of fruit in the raw state to be brought to the Temple. This is also the denotation of ראשית in Deut. xxvi. 2. Why Wellhausen declares that the ראשית here mentioned is

consumed by the worshipper is not to be seen. We are told in *v.* 10 that the worshipper leaves his basket at the altar, and with this his part was ended.<sup>25</sup> Nor is there any ground for supposing with Wellhausen that this ראשית is taken from the tithe. The tithe, as we saw, went to the Levites (as מעשר לוי). These in their turn gave a tithe of this tithe to the priests.<sup>26</sup> This מעשר מן המעשר is as a gift to the priests called תרומת ה', and considered to the Levites as if, like the Israelites, they had given their offering direct from the produce of their threshold and vine-vat.<sup>27</sup> Thus it is also the fruit in the prepared state, and is to be sent to the Temple for the ministering priests and Levites.<sup>28</sup> With it the ראשית in Deut. xxvi. 2 certainly has nothing in common, nor can the מעשר of Deut. xxvi. 12 ff. be connected with this ראשית. That tithe is given once in three years, and *vv.* 12 ff. are not to be regarded "als fortsetzung von *vv.* 1-11," but obviously go with the tithe of the third year mentioned in Deut. xiv. 28, as given to the Levite, the stranger, the widow and orphan in the home district (מעשר עני), while in the first two years it or its equivalent was to be consumed by the worshipper in Jerusalem<sup>29</sup> (מעשר שני). The word בכורים always denotes, as an offering, the fruit given to the

priests <sup>30</sup> in the raw state.<sup>31</sup> In Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 17, 20, where it is used of food in a prepared state, the reference is to the corporate national firstfruit offering given direct to God.<sup>32</sup> Neh. x. 38 introduces ראשית עריסותיכם, which is stored for the priests in the Temple. This is in Num. xv. 20 defined as חלה and called תרומה as being an offering to the priests. It is given from various kinds of corn in the prepared food state.<sup>33</sup> We thus see that ראשית is a general name for the offering of the first of produce of any kind to the priests, and not a special offering; that תרומה is a general name for all offerings to the priests, and also later for offerings of fruit in the prepared state given by Israelites to the priests in the provincial (home) districts,<sup>34</sup> while בכורים are specifically the offerings of first ripe fruits in their natural condition; that מעשר is the tithe given by Israelites to the Levites (מעשר לוי), from which in turn the Levite gives his tithe to the priest (מעשר מן המעשר), and also of the tithe to be consumed by the worshipper in Jerusalem (מעשר שני), which latter is every third year given to the poor in the home districts (מעשר עני). The BIKKURIM were brought to the Temple.<sup>35</sup> The תרומות, the מעשרות, and the other offerings included under ראשית, were

collected in the provinces and sent to the Temple.<sup>36</sup> In later times, however, as the Mishna records,<sup>37</sup> these latter offerings were not sent to the Temple, but distributed among the priests in the home districts for whom they were intended, even when stored in the Temple, as we saw above is indicated in Neh. xii. 44. Hence it may have come about that the Bikkurim were appropriated by the permanent priestly officials of the Temple. None the less it remains possible that, as Maimonides declares and as Neh. xii. 44 indicates, these also went to the changing weekly divisions of ministering priests who came to the Temple from the provinces.<sup>38</sup> These definitions are supported by the Mekilta to Exod. xxii. 28, which, says Bikkurim, has four names, מלאה and ראשית תרומה, whereas תרומה has three, viz., ראשית תרומה and דמע. Therefore are Bikkurim to be separated, first of all the offerings that are to be given from produce.<sup>39</sup> Hence, according to Mekilta, l.c., מלאה as a name for Bikkurim (Note 9) denotes the offering which is separated while the fruit is still in its full quantity. Thus ראשית is a general name for both בכורים and תרומה, while תרומה, besides denoting that offering specifically, may also signify בכורים.<sup>40</sup> The term בכורים is, however, distinct in its

application. For דמַע as denotation of תְּרוּמָה, cf. Dr. Hoffmann in Mek. S.Y., Exod. xxii. 8, who points out that דמַע is Samaritan equivalent of Hebrew הֶלֶב (cf. p. 9), which (Num. xviii. 12) stands for תְּרוּמָה.<sup>41</sup>

In connexion with the presentation of the firstfruits we have one of the only two ritual prayers for laymen recorded in the Old Testament.<sup>42</sup> The duty to give Bikkurim was incumbent upon every possessor of landed property in Palestine which produced fruit,<sup>43</sup> even if the possession was only that of trees in another's field or a single tree and the ground appertaining thereto.<sup>44</sup> It was to be given effect annually<sup>45</sup> between Pentecost<sup>46</sup> and the Feast of Dedication.<sup>47</sup> On Pentecost<sup>48</sup> the wave-loaves,<sup>49</sup> or bread of the firstfruits,<sup>50</sup> were offered as a corporate national "firstfruit offering unto the Lord."<sup>52</sup> (cf. p. 8). This served as the opening ceremony, after which, and not before, the individual Israelite could present the Bikkurim at the Temple.<sup>52</sup> According to the Mishna, the recitation of the ritual was omitted when the offering was brought after Tabernacles. This view is, however, there contradicted; and as Philo, who seems to have written as an eyewitness,<sup>53</sup> draws no such distinction, we cannot regard it as historical. The amount

to be brought was left to the discretion of the individual owner,<sup>54</sup> but was later fixed at one-sixtieth.<sup>55</sup> The manner of dedicating fruits for Bikkurim is recorded in detail.<sup>56</sup> The owner went into his field or garden<sup>57</sup> and looked around for fruits that had begun to ripen.<sup>58</sup> These he marked out by tying around it a string<sup>59</sup> of bast<sup>60</sup> and explicitly dedicated them for Bikkurim.<sup>61</sup> When the fruits were gathered in he added to the Bikkurim other fruits of the same kind (תוספת הבכורים)<sup>62</sup> in order to increase their quantity. These then attained the same degree of sanctity as the Bikkurim themselves.<sup>63</sup> It was considered an act of especial piety to arrange the seven kinds of fruit in seven separate baskets, while he who brought his Bikkurim in one was to preserve a prescribed order in their arrangement.<sup>64</sup> Barley was placed at the bottom and covered with a layer of leaves, reeds or blades of the palm branch or such like,<sup>65</sup> to separate it from the wheat, which was similarly covered to separate it from the olives that came next, and were in their turn likewise kept separate from the fourth layer, consisting of dates. Above the cover of dates the pomegranates were arranged and protected like the other "kinds" from intermingling with the figs which formed the upper

surface.<sup>66</sup> This was bordered by clusters of grapes. An exception was made in favour of those who lived at a distance from Jerusalem in that they were allowed to bring the figs and dates in a dried state instead of in their natural condition.<sup>67</sup> The baskets in which the fruits were arranged varied with the wealth of the owner,<sup>68</sup> the rich bringing them in fruit-baskets of gold and silver,<sup>69</sup> the poor in plaited fruit-baskets of peeled poplar-twigs.<sup>70</sup> Whereas the baskets of the rich were returned to them, those of the poor were added to the Bikkurim as part of the gift to the priests.<sup>71</sup> This is said to have given rise to the dictum, "poverty pursues the poor."<sup>72</sup> It was not usual for individuals to bring their firstfruit offerings singly to Jerusalem, but whole districts joined together in order to proceed thither.

In Tosefta Bikkurim ii. 8 (101<sup>28</sup>) we are told of those who brought their BIKKURIM to Jerusalem that לא היו עולין יחידים אלא פלכים פלכים, and the Mishna, iii. 2, tells us with somewhat greater detail that כל העיירים שבמעמד מתכנסות לעיר של מעמד. The first part of the latter phrase is explained in J. Bik. 61<sup>a</sup> (l. 12) with כנון יהיריב ומכיריו : Jehoiarib was the first of the twenty-four priestly divisions. Pales-

tine was divided into twenty-four districts,<sup>73</sup> each of which provided a division or guard of priests (משמר) that did duty at the Temple for one week in six months. With these went a detachment (משמר) of Levites.<sup>74</sup> A deputation of laymen accompanied them to represent the laymen of that district at the sacrifices, while others gathered that week in the cities of their district for divine service, M. Taan, iv. 2. The others are here called ישראל שבאותו משמר. The word משמר is thus here used geographically with reference to the inhabitants of a particular district. Similarly in the immediately preceding passage, התקינו הנביאים הראשנים כ"ד משמרות, על כל משמר ומשמר היה מעמד בירושלים של כהנים ושל לויים ושל ישראלים על כל משמר. הגיע זמן המשמר לעלות וכו'. The words על כל משמר ומשמר can only mean that for the inhabitants of every province or district there was a post or deputation (עמוד) of priests, Levites and laymen at Jerusalem. If משמר denotes the priests or the Levites, the passage is tautologous and meaningless. The last words, הגיע זמן המשמר לעלות וכו' thus signify that when the week came round in which the inhabitants of a particular משמר were properly to proceed to Jerusalem, their representatives did so in the manner described. The משמר thus denotes besides "post," "guard"; also (1) the division of priests or Levites that



did duty at the Temple during a particular week ; (2) the inhabitants of the ward or district from which the division came. The phrase **אנשי משמר** is generally interpreted as “men of the priestly **משמר**.” In b. Taan 27<sup>b</sup>, commenting on M. ib. iv. 2 end and iv. 3, the phrase is clearly used to refer to the whole body of priests, Levites and Israelites doing duty at the Temple,<sup>75</sup> in contrast to the **אנשי מעמד**, whom the laymen of the **משמר** represented, and who assembled for divine service in their cities at home. The priestly **משמר** was too numerous to serve at the sacrifice simultaneously in full force. It was therefore divided into **בתי אב**. Each **בית אב** did duty at the sacrifice on a particular day. In contrast to the **אנשי בית אב**, the priests doing duty on a particular day, the **אנשי משמר** are (Taan ii. 6-7) the priests of the whole weekly division.<sup>76</sup> This fluctuation in their usage has caused these various terms to be applied somewhat indiscriminately in the Talmudim, with resulting confusion. Thus the whole body of priests, Levites and laymen doing duty at the Temple in one week are in Taan iv. 2 called **מעמד**, which in J. ib. 67<sup>d</sup> (30 bot.) is corrected to **עמוד**, of which latter the former is perhaps a corruption ; for it is only in later passages that the word is used absolutely of persons.

The **מעמד** is thus the place of the **עמוד**, as the form implies. In our Mishna BIK. iii. 2 the word **מעמד** is obviously geographical in its application. For **עיריות שבמעמד** cannot mean the cities in the body of priests, Levites and Israelites at Jerusalem. The commentator's interpretation of **עיר של מעמד** with **ראש** **עיר של ראש** **המעמד** is equally untenable. For the **ראש** **המעמד** cannot himself be called the **מעמד**, even granted the correctness of the reading in Taan iv. 2. The word **מעמד** can thus only mean the district of the **משמר**. (On **עיר של מעמד** cf. below.) The **אנשי מעמד** are the laymen of this district who remain in the home district, while the **אנשי משמר** or **עמוד** (cf. below) proceed to Jerusalem. The **ראש המעמד** can therefore not be simply the head of the **אנשי המעמד** because we meet him in the Temple. The **ראש המשמר**, on the other hand, was certainly the chief priest of the priestly **משמר**; but the word **משמר**, we have seen, is also used by the Mishna to denote all the inhabitants of a district, thus including the **אנשי המעמד** M. Taan iv. 2 end. This confirms the hypothesis of Professor Büchler (*Priester und Cultus*, p. 93) that the **ראש המעמד** and the **ראש המשמר** are identical; and both would denote the chief priest of the **משמר**, who in virtue of his office was, at any rate before the

limitation of priestly privileges that followed the Pharisee victory, the religious head of the **מעמד**. The word **עיר** denotes a "community" as well as a city.<sup>77</sup> The city was the centre of the religious organization to which in later days its synagogue<sup>78</sup> court (**בית דין**)<sup>79</sup> and schools<sup>80</sup> were open, these institutions being limited to the cities. The phrase **עירות שבמעמד** can therefore only mean the cities, i.e. communities, of one of the twenty-four districts into which Palestine was divided for purposes of Temple service. These gathered<sup>81</sup> with their **BIKKURIM** to the **עיר של מעמד**, which seems to mean that city of the district in which its priests dwelt. For in the poem **הבצלת השרון** of the liturgy for the 9th of Ab., which Qalir has based on a Boraitha now lost to us, he has preserved for us some of the priestly divisions of Galilee and of the places occupied by their priests.<sup>82</sup> This geographical use of the word **מעמד** would lead us to expect that the **מעמד** of the Mishna is identical with the **פלך** of the Tosefta. The records only give us sure knowledge of the division of Judea into **פלכים**. Nehemiah iii. names five of them. The *Mekilta to Deut.* published by Dr. D. Hoffmann in the *Hildesheimer Jubelschrift* (Hebrew part, p. 30) tells us how **ר' יהושע**, related to **ר' יוחנן בן הקנה** of Emmaus, that

יוחנן סופר חלק, Johanan the scribe of the Synhedrion,<sup>83</sup> wrote at the dictation of Simon ben Gamaliel and Johanan ben Zakkai. משמעון .  
 בן גמליאל ומיוחנן בן זכאי לאחינו שבדרום העליון  
 והתחתון ולשחליל ולשבעת פלכי הדרום That  
 דרום stands for Judea is evident from  
 the next following passage, which gives us a  
 second letter sent to upper and lower Galilee.  
 Judea was accordingly, c. 70, c.e., divided  
 into an upper and lower part like Galilee, and,  
 further, into seven פלכים. The Aruch, s.v. פלך,  
 says six or seven cities make up a פלך or מדינה.  
 From Neh. iii. 9, 12, 16, 17, 18 it would follow  
 that the פלך was a district centring around  
 a city, that district being divided into two  
 parts, each under its own ruler or in some  
 cases left undivided (vv. 14, 15). In Gen. R.  
 50 end we read משל למדינה שהיה לו שני  
 פטרנין אחד עירוני ואחד מן המדינה  
 מדינה also had two rulers. This would sup-  
 port the identity of מדינה in the sense of province  
 with פלך.<sup>84</sup> Although these only two records,  
 viz. Nehemiah and the above-named Mekilta  
 to Deuteronomy, give information concerning  
 the division of Judea alone into פלכים, this  
 seems accidental; for the name is used to  
 denote any district of Palestine.<sup>85</sup> Judea and  
 Galilee, we saw, were both divided into an  
 upper and lower part. Judea was further

divided into seven פלכים, of which two were whole (Neh. x. 14, 15), and possibly the other five were subdivided into two parts. If Galilee were similarly subdivided, there would thus be twenty-four divisions of פלכים, as there were מעמדות.<sup>86</sup> The Tosefta, we saw, calls the מעמד of the Mishna פלך, thus supporting the interchangeability of the terms and identity of division. We know that the Romans will have adopted the divisions they found in Palestine for their administrative purposes.<sup>87</sup> We saw that the מעמד was the basis of the Jewish administration. The Romans then will have adopted the divisions into מעמדות, so that the religious מעמד became also the secular פלך or מדינה.

The Mishna tells us further that the march to Jerusalem was commenced at the command of the ממונה, which word always denotes a priestly officer.<sup>88</sup> From the Tosefta we learn that there went with those who were bringing BIKKURIM to Jerusalem וכל בית הכנסת.<sup>89</sup> The phrase בית הכנסת is, of course, personal in its application, and no doubt a corruption of the earlier בני הכנסת.<sup>90</sup> Geiger shows that these were the priests doing service at the Temple. Since the priests doing service at the Temple were only the priests of the

כל בני<sup>91</sup> בית אב and the Tosefta tells us that כל בני<sup>91</sup> the *משמר*, like the *הכנסת*, proceed to the Temple from the provinces, it would follow that כל בני הכנסת and the *משמר* are identical, and so also the בני הכנסת (בית) and the בית אב. Thus the שלשה בני הכנסת, who decide in cases of doubt concerning the fitness of an offering, are three of the priests doing duty on a particular day. The ראש הכנסת will then have been identical with the ראש בית אב. We find the ראש בית אב, together with the סגן, accompanying the High Priest when the latter officiated at the offering,<sup>92</sup> and the fact that the ראש הכנסת is mentioned with the סגן as officiating with the High Priest when he read from the Law on the Day of Atonement<sup>93</sup> points in this direction. Geiger<sup>94</sup> would identify ראש הכנסת with ראש המשמר. He also regards the חונים as priests.<sup>95</sup> The fact that they proceeded to Jerusalem from the פלך<sup>96</sup> shows that they are not of the permanent Temple officials. In Tamid v. 3 we find the חונים in attendance on those priests of the בית אב who did not succeed in securing a part by lot in the sacrificial service. As all the priests of the בית אב are thus accounted for, the חונים cannot themselves be priests. They would, however, be under the charge of a priestly officer, who, according to M. Škalim

v. 1, had charge of the clothing of the ordinary priests who officiated at the daily sacrificial service, פנחס על המלבושים. In similar manner we find the Levites under charge of a priest occupying minor positions in the Temple service, such as guarding its external posts<sup>97</sup> and the closing of the Temple gates.<sup>98</sup> Such a minor position is occupied by the חזנים, who, according to Suc. iv. 4, are in charge of the palm-branches for the Feast of Tabernacles, under the control of a Levite officer.<sup>99</sup> As we have seen them under a priest in attendance on priests at the daily sacrifice, they cannot themselves be laymen, who nowhere held such a position. And since they are not themselves priests, the conclusion is forced upon us that in the חזנים we have a body of Levites.<sup>100</sup> In 2 Chron. xix. 11 we find the Levite שוטרים as officers of the law. From 2 Chron. xxxiv. 13, ומהלויים סופרים, it follows that the סופר and the שוטר are not identical; cf. 2 Chron. xxvi. 11: שוטר (cf. the Assyrian Šaṭâru, "to write") is etymologically the equivalent of the Hebrew סופר, "a scribe"; but סופר, if related to the Assyrian Šapâru, to send, would etymologically signify the one who sends the letter.<sup>101</sup> In their legal functions it would seem that the סופר was the lawyer and the

שופט the officer entrusted with the execution of the judge's sentence in cases of flagellation.<sup>102</sup> Now we find the חונים as officers of the law, and in this very position.<sup>103</sup> In M. Mak. iii. 12 the חון הכנסת is described as occupying this position. Whether under חון הכנסת any one of the חונים is to be understood or an officer who stood in the same relation to the חונים as did the ראש הכנסת or ראש בית אב to the בני הכנסת (בית) or בית אב cannot be ascertained. M. Sota, where we find the חון הכנסת handing the scroll of the Law to the ראש הכנסת, might point to the latter direction. In Tos. Mac. v. 12 (444<sup>29</sup>) this legal officer is called simply חון. Thus we see that the חונים were neither priests (Geiger, l.c.) nor laymen,<sup>104</sup> but Levites; so that the priests and Levites of any one of the twenty-four administrative districts of Palestine (פלך or מעמד) accompanied the Israelites who brought their Bikkurim to Jerusalem from that district.

Both the Mishna and Philo give half a year as the period during which Bikkurim were brought to Jerusalem. Six months is, however, also the period during which all the משמרות served for one week at the Temple. This makes it highly probable that the time at which the Bikkurim from each מעמד or פלך



was brought to Jerusalem coincided with that at which its **משמר** had to go thither. Otherwise why indeed should the priests and Levites accompany the Bikkurim procession at all? The mere fact that a whole district presented its firstfruits at the same time presupposes that the time was administratively determined. This is further borne out by the fact that their arrival is expected at Jerusalem, where we shall see (p. 31, note 124) they were greeted by the naming of their district. We are also told that **הפחות והסגנים והגזברים יוצאים לקראתם, לפי כבוד הנכנסין היו יוצאים**. The **גזברים** are known to us as three officials out of the weekly **משמר** who had charge of the vessels for the sacrificial service,<sup>106</sup> and also as a title of permanent Temple officials. On the other hand, as Professor Büchler has shown, there was only one **סגן** in the Temple, and **פחה** is nowhere else the title of a Temple official. The phrase **הפחות והסגנים והגזברים** (cf. D.S. for readings) can hardly be a reminiscence of Dan. iii. 2, 27, as Professor Büchler maintains, because there the order is different, the list larger, and in Aramaic. The combination **פחות וסגנים** occurs in Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23, Jer. li. 23, cf. xxviii. 37. Under the **גזברים** we may then safely understand the priests of the **משמר** or the permanent officials who bore the

title, while the phrase הפחות והסגנים will be borrowed from the Biblical combination. Now, the phrase לפי כבוד הנכנסין היו יוצאין recurs in Tos. Škalim ii. 15 in slightly different form. There we are told אמרכל פותחין וגוברין נכנסין ויוצאין ולפי כבוד נכנסין ויוצאין (היו נכנסין והיו v. l. יוצאין). The meaning of this passage becomes clear from Josephus, *Contra Apion*, ii. 8 end—  
 “Et congregati in templi mediante die a praecedentibus claves templi et ad munerum vasa omnia percipiunt.”

The combination of our passage in the Tosefta with this one in Josephus enables us to infer that at midday of the last day of the week of one משמר the גוברין and אמרכלין of the outgoing one gave up, respectively, the vessels and keys entrusted to their care to those officers of the incoming one. This is also in full agreement with our information that the incoming משמר began its duty with the תמיד של בין הערבים, the evening sacrifice.<sup>107</sup> The words (היו נכנסין והיו v.l. לפי כבוד נכנסין ויוצאין) look very much like a variant if not a corruption of the simpler expression of our Mishna, לפי כבוד הנכנסין היו יוצאין. In any case, the words can only mean that the honour paid by the officers of the outgoing משמר to those of the incoming one varied with their respective standing and dignity. To inter-

pret כבוד with רוב,<sup>108</sup> is not justified by the usage of the word, which nowhere means "multitude." The motive of the interpretation is made evident in the passage cited; but we know that great difference did exist in the standing and dignity of the various משמרות.<sup>109</sup> That this same expression is used with reference to those who came out to meet the company approaching with the Bikkurim would indicate that we have here a similar greeting of an incoming. משמר. The vague expression הפחות והסגנים is thus explained by the immediately following לפי כבוד הנכנסין. היו יוצאין. The various Temple officials came out to meet them according to the rank and station of the incoming משמר. Under this vague expression we are no doubt to understand those permanent officials of the Temple of whom the Mishna nowhere makes distinct mention, since they took no part in the Temple's sacrificial service, with which alone the Mishna is concerned. Hence again the vague naming. In the גזברים, on the other hand, we may perhaps see an indication that the officers of the outgoing משמר were among those who came to meet the procession. We saw that each person who brought the first-fruit offering brought the "seven kinds," and that too in particular arrangement. This

latter rule can hardly have been made for a few individual cases of persons who happened to bring the seven kinds. It no doubt hangs together with the storing arrangements at the Temple. On the other hand, we saw also that the firstfruits had to be dedicated by those who owned both the fruit and the land on which it was grown (Note 44). It is impossible to assume that all landowners will have grown all the "seven kinds" on their own land. Nor is it likely that they all could and would leave their work year after year for this journey. There can be no doubt that the baskets of fruit were made up of contributions from various people, and were taken to Jerusalem by their delegates, possibly the Israelites of the עמור, possibly by others with these.<sup>110</sup>

From these foregoing considerations it is clear that the Bikkurim went to the Temple with the משמר of the district whence it was brought. We have not sufficient information to enable us to determine whether the priest who placed himself in attendance on each worshipper who brought Bikkurim was one of the outgoing משמר or of the incoming one, which had arrived with the procession.<sup>111</sup> Nor can we decide whether they arrived on the morning of the day on which the duties

of the new **משמר** were to begin, or on the day before. Philo accounts for the extension of the period during which the Bikkurim were brought to Jerusalem, over six months, by pointing out that in different localities fruits ripened at different times. We saw, however, (Note 58) that fruits were dedicated to Bikkurim before they had fully ripened, and some time elapsed between their dedication and their presentation. The date at which the fruits ripened will have influenced the time at which the **משמר** or **עמור** of a particular **מעמד** did duty at the Temple. The order having been thus determined for the one half year, will probably have been followed for the other.

As the date of Pentecost would thus have affected the whole organization of Judea (p. 13, Notes 48-52), the above reconstruction may throw light on the dispute between the popular Pharisees and the aristocratic Sadducees of the Temple concerning the interpretation of **ממחרת השבת** in Lev. xxiii. 15. The Sadducees interpreted **שבת** literally as Sabbath, so that Pentecost would always fall on Sunday, whereas the Pharisees maintained that **שבת** here designated the first day of the festival. The date of this day being dependent on the fixing of the new moon by the Pharisee authority, the whole organization of Judea,

as dependent on the presentation of the First-fruits, was thus secured under their control.

The various communities comprised within one of the twenty-four districts into which Palestine was thus divided for purposes of Temple service (מעמדות) assembled in the priests' city of the district, עיר של מעמד (cf. p. 19), and passed the night in its market square.<sup>112</sup> They entered no house, lest any defilement should befall their Bikkurim.<sup>113</sup> Early in the morning<sup>114</sup> the appointed chief<sup>115</sup> of the משמר, i.e. the priestly division of the district called those who were to proceed to Jerusalem with the משמר to the march, with the proclamation "Arise, and let us go up to Zion, to the house of the Lord our God."<sup>116</sup> The procession then set itself on the march, joined by the priests and Levites of the משמר.<sup>117</sup> Before it went an ox with gilded horns crowned with an olive wreath.<sup>118</sup> The flute played<sup>119</sup> before the procession all the way until it reached the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The procession marched eight hours a day,<sup>120</sup> beginning each stage of the journey to the call of "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go to the house of the Lord" (Ps. cxxii. 1). The next verse of this psalm brought the procession to a halt, when it arrived at

Jerusalem.<sup>121</sup> Then they sent messengers before them, to secure fresh fruits for hanging around their baskets.<sup>122</sup> Those who had brought dried figs or raisins as Bikkurim now brought fresh figs or grapes to hang around their baskets. Two doves were suspended from the sides of the baskets.<sup>123</sup> Some of the officers of the priestly division then on duty at the Temple came out to meet them (p. 16 ff.). As they passed through Jerusalem on their way to the Temple the artisans at work in the open spaces of the streets, in front of their houses, rose to greet them, saying, "Our brethren, men of such and such a place, welcome."<sup>124</sup> When the procession reached the Temple Mount the flute stopped its playing.<sup>125</sup> Each man took his basket from the person who carried it for him, put it on his own shoulder,<sup>126</sup> and went in the procession into the Temple Court reciting Ps. 150 as they went.<sup>127</sup> When the procession reached the forecourt the Levites took up the song with Ps. xxx.

The connexion between the content of this psalm and the presentation of Bikkurim is not clear. b. Shebuoth 15<sup>b</sup> records, without reference to the occasion, that the psalm was sung from every point of vantage in

Jerusalem. Philo does not mention the psalm. Graetz, in *Monatschrift*, 1877 (p. 439 f.), refers the inclusion of this psalm in the ceremony to an individual occasion (40, c.e.), when the threatened desecration of the Temple (40, c.e.) was averted by the death of Caligula. This, however, does not compel us, with him, to refer and limit all the details recorded to the same occasion. The simple rising of the artisans, as the procession passed, which is all the Mishna records,<sup>128</sup> could well have maintained itself despite frequent repetition. Flutes were the accompaniment of all processions, and the ox with gilded horns was also not unusual. The history narrated in the ritual accompanying the presentation of the Bikkurim (Deut. xxvi.) is, however, not out of harmony with the content of Psalm xxx., and that may have served for the connexion.<sup>129</sup>

While the Levites were reciting the Psalm a priest placed himself in attendance on each worshipper. The latter, with his basket still on his shoulder,<sup>130</sup> recited, "I profess this day unto the Lord thy God," etc. (Deut. xxvi. 3<sup>b</sup>). Then lowering the basket from the shoulder, he held it by the rim while the priest put his hands under it. The priest then waved the basket while the worshipper



recited Deut. xxvi. 5-10<sup>a</sup>. Having completed the recitation the worshipper placed his basket at the south-western corner of the altar. Then, after prostrating himself, he retired<sup>131</sup> (cf. Note 25). If the worshipper could not himself recite the ritual, the priest repeated it with him.<sup>132</sup> The two doves that were hung over the sides of each basket were offered up as a burnt offering,<sup>133</sup> while the ox they had brought with them was slain as a peace offering, and served to provide the pilgrims with their festive meal.<sup>134</sup> Those who brought Bikkurim were bound to remain in Jerusalem over-night.<sup>135</sup> In the morning those who brought their firstfruits in metal baskets could receive their baskets back again, and they whose duties in the Temple did not keep them at Jerusalem for the week were free to return home.

## NOTES.

1. Philo, De Festo Cophini, ii. Exod. xxiii. 17 ; Deut. xvi. 16. Tobit i. 6 would seem to indicate that the firstfruits were brought to the Temple only at Festivals by those who then pilgrimaged thither. There are considerations which, as we shall see, point to other times for their presentation in the latter years of the Temple's existence, of which the Mishnaic records preserve the account.

2. Deut. xxvi. 1-11. M. Bik. iii. 2, 3, 4. Philo, De Festo Cophini, iii. ; cf. Josephus, Ant. IV. viii. 22, XVI. vi. 7.

3. Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26.

4. Yad Bik. I. i. ; b. B.Q. 110b.

5. Num. xviii. 13 ; Ezek. xlv. 30, etc. M. Bik. iii. 8, 12. Yad, ib. iii. 1, 8. Philo, On the Rewards of Priests.

6. Philo, De Festo Cophini, vi. Ἡ δὲ τούτων χρῆσις ἐπιτέτραπται τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἐπεὶ τῆς μὲν ἀποτομῆς οὐκ ἔλαχον οὐδὲ προσοδομένης κτήσεως. Κληροὶ δ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς αἱ παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπαρχαὶ ἀντὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν ἃς μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπομένουσι.

7. Cf. Neh. x. 40.

8. See Note 19.

9. Exod. xxii. 28 (כִּנְיָוָה = כִּנְיָוָה, see below, p. 12, and Note 41). Prov. iii. 9. Sirach xxxv. 8 (10), etc. Cf. 1 Macc. iii. 49, Rom. xi. 16, etc.

10. Homer, Iliad, ix. 534, is regarded as its only reference to a public festival. Cf. W. Leaf's edition (London, 1900). Note *ad loc.* With the derivation of γένους, from γένυ, "knee," in the sense of the part of a garden most exposed to the sun, cf. the similar use of קָדְקֵד in Isaiah v. 2. See M. Bik. i. 3. Cf. Porphyry, Abstin. ii. 5, for the idea.

11. See end of article "Erstlinge" in Winer's *Realwörterbuch*.

12. Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xxvi. 2; Ezek. xlv. 20; Neh. x. 36.

13. Plinius, Hist. Nat. xviii. 2. "Ne degustabant novas fruges aut vina antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent."

14. M. Bik. iii. 1.

15. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 2. M. Bik. i. 3. 10. Cf. b. Bro. 35a (11 bot.). Mek. S.Y. Exod. xxxiv. 26. Yad Bik. ii. 2. Cf. J. Bik. 63d (33 bot.).

16. כִּנְיָוָה of Deut. viii. 8 is explained as honey of dates. Sifré l.c. J. Bik. 63d (23 bot.). The reference is to dates. Honey itself was not permitted. Cf. to next note; and Smith, Sem. p. 221.

17. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 2, s.v. כל פרי. M. Halla iv. 11; cf. b. Erechin 11a. Tosafoth, s.v. מניין, Tem. 4a. Tosafoth, s.v. מלאכת, b. Hullin 120b. An exception in favour of wine and oil is made in M. Ter. xi. 3, J. ib. 47d. (30 bot.). Yad Bik. ii. 4.

18. Deut. xxvi. 9. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 1-9. R. Simon excludes Gilead M. Bik. i. 10 (cf. Tos. Ter. ii. 12, p. 27<sup>21</sup>). According to Yad Bik. ii. 1, including Sihon, Og and Syria; excluding Moab. Josephus, Ant. XVI. vi. 7, indicates that Jews of Cyrene and Asia Minor also brought their firstfruit offerings to Jerusalem in festive procession. M. Halla iv. 11 includes Syria.

19. Exod. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 26. Deut. xxvi. 2. M. Bik. ii. 3. Tos. Škal. iii. 24 (p. 179<sup>12</sup>). Thus the command for the presentation of Bikkurim lost its force with the fall of the Temple. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 4.

20. Malachi iii. 8.

21. 2 Chron. xxxi. 11 f.

22. Neh. xiii. 5.

23. Neh. xii. 44.

24. Deut. xviii. 14.

25. Cf. Smith, Sem. p. 241.

26. Num. xviii. 26.

27. Ib. v. 27.

28. Neh. x. 39 f.

29. Deut. xiv. 22 f.

30. Num. xviii. 13; Ezek. xliv. 30.

31. Cf. Nahum iii. 12.

32. See below, p. 13 and Note 49.

33. M. Ḥal. iii. 1.  
 34. Sifré Num. xviii. 27. M. Ter. i. 4.  
 35. Neh. x. 36; Deut. xxvi. 1-11.  
 36. Cf. p. 9.  
 37. M. Bik. ii. 3; M. Ḥalla iv. 9.  
 38. Yad Bik. iii. 1.  
 39. Cf. Mek. S.Y. to Exod. xxiii. 19, M. Ter. iii. 7.  
 40. Cf. M. Bik. iii. 7; J. ib. 64c (30 bot.); Yad ib. iii. 1.  
 41. Cf. b. Ter. iv. a. (ca. 8, top): מלאה אלו: בכורים ודמער אלו תרומה.  
 42. Deut. xxvi. 3b-10a, 13-15.  
 43. Mek. Exod. xxiii. 19. M. Bik. i. 2, ii. 3 exclude האריסין והחכירות והסקריקין והגולן. For אריסין Mek. S.Y. has עריסין. So Tos. Peah, iii. 1 (p. 20<sup>23</sup>), ib. Ter. ii. 11 (27<sup>29</sup>), all with חכירות; v.l., חכורות and חוכרין. Against Delitzsch, who translates אריס with "overseer," see Jensen, Z.A. i. 406, who compares Assyrian irrišu, "Feldarbeiter," from erêšu, "to plant," which, as he points out, is wider than the Arabic غرس, "to plant trees." Schwally, Idioticon, p. 115, compares the Arabic حرث, Syriac ܠܚܬ, Hebrew חרש; Fleischer in Levy, N.H. i. 283, points to אריס which Lagarde points out (*Nominal Bildung*, 100) is, as a qittîl form, not native Arabic. Cf. Fränkel, p. 128. Schwally, who translates אריס with "Pächter," would connect this word with ארוסה b.h. ארושה, "the betrothed girl," and Assyrian êrišu, "Bridegroom," and

so the last with *errišu* and *erêšu* ; but אריסין and חכירין (with the v.l. noted above) generally occur together, and of these, the "Pächter," those who farm a field, paying its owner a stated quantity of produce, are the חכירין as opposed to the שוכר who pays in money. Tos. Dmai vi. 2 (p. 56<sup>15</sup>). The produce of the field, whatever it may yield, then belongs to the חכיר or שוכר. The אריסות, on the other hand, is the contract (שכר אריסות M. Baba Bathra x. 4) held by the owner against his labourer, binding the latter to cultivate land in return for payment in kind by a certain proportion of the fruit of his labour. A labourer under such conditions is an אריס. Barth connects ארושה with *عَروُسٌ* "Hochzeit" ; *عَروُسٌ* verlobte = Mishnaic ארוסה. Against Lagarde, Sem. i. 50 (Gesenius, Thesaurus, 155), who connects with *أرِش* (ארש), "Erlegen und so das Recht an ein Mädchen gewinnen." The *ع* and *س* seem to speak against Barth. The specific application of אריס in the Mishna suggest that to its primary Assyrio-Babylonian (East Semitic) meaning of husbandman, *errišu*, from *errêšu* (with *א*<sup>5</sup> = *ع*)—to which we probably owe the variant עריס—was added the "compensation" idea of the Arabic (S.W. Semitic) *أرِش* = Hebrew (N.W. Semitic) ארש, which underlies the use of the etymologically distinct ארוסה and אירוסין. Thus also the

אריסותא (b. Moed. Qatan 22<sup>b</sup>) is a meal given by a host to his guest, who is to give another meal (פורענותא) in return. בעלי חכירות = חכירות, cf. M. Bik. i. 11; R. Jehouda includes בעלי חכירות among those who must bring BIKKURIM. The words thus denote different relations in farming. The עריסות and the חכירות may be temporary (לשעה) or permanent (לעולם) and hereditary (בתי אבות), cf. J. Bik. 64<sup>b</sup> b. Baba Bathra 46<sup>a</sup>:—סיקריקון = σικαρικόν. S. Kraus, Lehnwörter, ii. 392b, "Räuberwesen" besonders das Gesetz w. gegen d. Banditen in Palestina eingeführt wurde." See Grätz in *Jahresbericht d. Breslauer Frankelsche Seminar*, 1892; cf. *Monatschrift*, 1877, p. 437. The Sicarii, Grätz points out, were the Zealots who, when, after the death of Agrippa I, Judea became a Roman province, urged their fellows to rebellion by committing murder and robbery against those friendly to Rome. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 126, who defines them as the קנאים, the Republican Zealots whom the Pharisees and Aristocrats considered as traitors. Against the Sicarii, according to Grätz, the דין סיקריקון was formulated, making invalid the purchase from them of lands of which they had gained violent possession. The activity of the Sicarii brought on the war, with the consequent fall of Jerusalem and the Temple. The lands of Judea were forfeited by the Romans and resold to Jews

friendly to Rome, the *דין סיקריקון* being suspended in Judea during the war, but maintained in Galilee, which under a Judean prince, Agrippa II, had given no favourable opportunity for the activity of the Sicarii, and where Vespasian, out of regard for Agrippa, allowed no plundering or confiscation. Rosenthal in *Monatschrift*, 1893, pp. 58 ff., draws a distinction between *סיקרין*, *σικαριοι*, and *סיקריקון*. The former are the Zealots, to whose activity Grätz attributes the origin of the law before the war; the latter are common robbers. The *סיקריקין* are distinguished from the *גולן* in that the former could show apparently legal right to the land they held because they compelled the owners formally to sell or give them the land. The absence of freedom of will on the owner's part made the transaction invalid in Jewish, but not necessarily in Roman, law. Rosenthal dates the law in the period after the fall of Bethar at the time of the rising in the reign of Antoninus Pius, 138–161. In that case the law could have had no practical application to the presentation of Bikkurim, which ceased with the fall of the Temple (Note 19), and the reference in the Mishna would be a late insertion. *סיקריקין* is, however, not so likely a later form of *סיקרין* (and *σικαρικοι* of *σικαριοι*), but more probably a corruption of *סיקריקון*, which, as S. Kraus (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1893, ii. p. 511)—who compares *ληστικόν*, a word dis-



covered by L. Cohn in an old unedited glossary—points out, denotes the condition brought about by, and all applying to, the *σικαριοι*, סיקרין. On גולן cf. Strack and Siegfried, § 62, a. With חכיר, etc., cf. حَكَّر and حَكْر (Lane, i. 2, 165).

44. Bik. i. 11. The point of the exclusion is that the ownership of fruit or land apart from each other does not suffice. Cf. Yad Bik. ii. 13, 14.

45. Neh. x. 36.

46. M. Bik. i. 3. Tos. Bik. i. 1 (p. 100<sup>1</sup>), etc.

47. M. Bik. i. 6.

48. Cf. Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22.

49. Lev. xxiii. 17.

50. Ib. v. 20.

51. Lev. xxiii. 15, 21. Num. xxviii. 26. Cf. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 2, s.v. ולקחת מראשית כל פרי האדמה.

52. Cf. M. Halla iv. 10; Bik. i. 3.

53. Grätz, *Monatschrift*, 1877, p. 439.

54. M. Bik. ii. 3. Peah i. 1. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 2, s.v. מראשית.

55. J. Bik. iii. 1; 65, c. (7 top); b. Hullin 137, b.; Yad Bik. ii. 17.

56. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 10, s.v. את ראשית (Friedman's correction to מראשית, which occurs in xxvi. 2, needs recorection). M. Bik. iii. 1, and, with further details, Tos. Bik. ii. 8 (p. 101<sup>21</sup>); Yad, ib. iii. 7.

57. שדה includes both שדה הלבן, cornfield,

Šeb. ii. 1, and שדה האילן, fruit garden, M. Šab. i. 1.

58. J. Bik. 65, c (5) explains שבכר with אפילו בוסר אפילו פנין. They are to be ripe at time of presentation, not of dedication; cf. Yad ii. 19. It is to be noted that the Piel בִּכַּר here (M. Bik. iii. 1) has the signification of entering into and remaining in a condition, a meaning which in Biblical Hebrew is limited to the Hifil. This use of the Piel in the co-hative sense of the Hifil is thus another instance of the predilection of New Hebrew for the intensive stem. Cf. Strack and Siegfried, § 89, a.

59. Tos. Bik. ii. 9 (p. 101<sup>22</sup>) משיחה, cf. Assyrian mašāḥu, which Delitzsch, Prolegom. 178, would keep distinct from مَسَحَ. The Assyrian preservation of the ה would indeed require مַח. In this word, then, which, as its use in our passage would indicate, was in common use in Palestine, we have another distinct root, known to us from the Assyrian, preserved in a purely Hebrew passage. Cf. also مَسَّ, "mensus est," in Syriac. See Nöldeke, Die Semitische Sprachen, p. 23 and p. 25 bottom. Fränkel, 282.

60. גמא b.h. גמא. Löw, Aram. Pflanzen-namen, pp. 54, 63. Used as application for wound. M. Erubin, x. 14.

61. ר' שמעון אומר חוזר וקורא אותם בכורים אחר שיתלשו בן דקרקע. According to this tradent the

explicit dedication was to be repeated when the fruits were gathered in and ripe, cf. *Yad Bik. ii. 19*. The use of two participles with waw, where in Biblical Hebrew we would have a finite verb and two infinitives, is to be noted. Two perfects are similarly joined in N.H. to denote past action. מאחר ש generally introduces logical sequence (*Levy, N.H. i. 57, b*). Here it introduces sequence of time=b.h. לאחר ש, אחר אשר, and N.H. ש, אחר ש. קרא with the double accusative—to proclaim x as y, and so to dedicate x as y—a meaning which it does not have in Biblical Hebrew. Cf. Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, ii. 194.

62. *M. Bik. iii. 10. Tos. ib. ii. 12 (102<sup>14</sup>)*.

63. *M. Bik. iii. 11. Yad, ib. ii. 18*. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 171, on sanctification through contact with what is holy.

64. *Tos. Bik. ii. 8 (p. 101<sup>24</sup>)*. *Yad, ib. ii. 7*.

65. Maimonides explains דבר אחר (v.l. הוצין וחלף או עלין וכיוצא בהן (דבר אחר) with הוצא is, according to Fleischer (in *Levy, N. H. i. 557, a*, (bot.), a softened form of הוצא, خوص. Blätter von Dattelpalmen und andere ähnliche, pl., with inserted נ in הוצני as opposed to עניני פשתן (v.l. אניני פשתן bundles). *Tos. Suc. i. 5, 6, J. ib. 52b חלף = חלף, חלף*. Fleischer in *Levy, T. W. i. 425a*. Cf. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, § 121, p. 167.

66. Tos. למעלה מן הכלי Yad, למעלה מכלם.

67. M. Bik. iii. 9. הקרובים מביאים התאנים והענבים והרחוקים מבאים גרוגרות וצמקים.

גרוגרת, pl. גרוגרות, Levy, N. H., s.v., compares Gr. τὰ γαργαρα=heap of dried figs. Fleischer, ib. i. p. 436, compares جرجور "runder haufen," Vulgar Arab. جرجار. "Oliven die den höchsten Grad der Reife erreicht, und dadurch alle Bitterkeit verloren haben." Cuche جرجر, Vulg. Ar. جرجار, "Olives très mûres." In the Mishna גרוגרות always of dried figs, but גרגר denotes a dried olive in M. Men. viii. 3. (See Dr. F. Goldmann in *Monatschrift*, 1906, p. 712. "Der Ölbau in Palästina in der Tanaïtischen Zeit"). גרוגרת is to be kept distinct from דבילה b.h. דבלה, Syr. ܕܒܠܐ, cf. ܕܒܠܐ, to collect, make into lumps, gobbets (Lane). ܕܒܠܐ lump, large goblet or mouthful: cf. Assyrian DUBLU, "foundation," and the Hebrew homonym אשישה, raisin cake or foundation. דבילה=a lump of pressed figs, pressed fig cake probably made by treading. Cf. b. Pes. 87 b. (top), הכל דשין, and ברה בדבילה, and Bertinoro to M. Ter. ii. 4. J. Bik. 65 c. (top) admits the fig cake from קעילה, not from בצרה, no doubt as illustration of the geographical conditions mentioned in Note 18. צמקים (צמק), to shrivel up, cf. Hos. ix. 14; שדים צמקים Targ. J. Num. vi. 8; צמקין for Heb. (יבישים), dried grapes. Once for olives, see Goldmann, *Monatschrift*, 1906, p. 715.

68. M. Bik. iii. 8. Sifré Deut. xxvi. 4, s.v. ולקח הכהן המנא, cf. Yad Bik. iii. 8.

69. קלתה : קלתות שלכסף ושל זהב (Gr. τὸ καλάθος, plaited hand-basket, especially for fruit). The women's spinning basket and the fruit basket were both so named because of similarity in form. Rich, Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities, s.v. Calathus.

70. סלי נצרים של ערבה קלופה. The סל was of the commonest baskets. Cf. J. Aboda Zara, 42 c. הסל דבר של בזיון הוא. It was used as bread basket ; cf. b. Joma, 74 b, אינו דומה מי עיש לו פת בסלו למי שאין לו, cf. Rashi, he who has no bread left in the basket is anxious for the morrow. This may help to explain Mark viii. 14-21 : נצרה itself denotes basket as opposed to the larger כלכלה. The latter as well as the סל was used for storing straw, M. Kel. xxii 9 (cf. نَضَارٌ a tree of which yellow cups are made (Lane)). Cf. Moed. Qatan, 27 a, אין מוליכין לבית האבל לא בטבלא ולא באסקוטלא ולא בקנון אלא בראשונה היו מוליכין לבית האבל עשירים של כסף ושל זהב ועניים בסלי נוצרים והיו העניים מתביישים התקינו שיהו הכל מוליכין בסלים של נצרים As indication of wealth of vocabulary may be mentioned, among other names, for basket סוג cf. (سِجْ) Pl. with סגניות, ג, חותל, סואין, pl. סאה, a basket of palm-leaves for storing figs and dates ; מרעלה, one to hang over the flanks of the donkey. (صَنْ) צנצנת b.h. צנה. (شَرَجَ שרג=סרג=סלג) סלגיתא כנון, besides (كُوَارَة) כוורת, טנה b.h. טני

Greek words, e.g. קרטלא, קרסטור and קרטלס, and, according to Levy, דיקולה as variant of קלתה. Biblical Hebrew has סל דוד מנה and כלוב.

71. Sifré l.c.

72. b. Baba Qama 92, a (bot.) בתר עניא אזל עניותא.

73. J. Taan, 67, d (27 bot.).

74. For the division of Levites into משמרות cf. references given by S. Kraus in *J.Q.R.* viii. pp. 675-6, and add Tos. Suc. iv. 28 (200<sup>15</sup>). Cf. Blau, *R.E.J.* xxxi. p. 151.

75. That the priests and Levites joined in divine service at the Temple is made evident from Tos. Suc. iv. 5. Cf. also Blau, *R.E.J.* xxxi. p. 149.

76. J. Taan, 68 a, is obviously a late and unhistorical reconstruction, and משמר is here wrongly used for בית אב. On the formation of the בתי אבות cf. Schürer, *Gesch.* iii. 275 f.

77. Dr. Weinberg, *Die Organisation der Jüdischen Ortsgemeinden*, *Monatschrift*, 1897, p. 597 f.

78. M. Megilla, i. 3.

79. Ib. i. 1, Rashi.

80. b. Baba Bathra, 21, a.

81. כנס: מתכנתות. In Nifal (which does not occur in the Bible), to enter, to go in. Piel, to gather in. Hence Hithpael, Isa. xxviii. 20, to gather oneself in.

Hifil not in b.h., to cause to enter, to bring in, and Hithpael, in post-biblical Hebrew, of assembling into a place for religious purposes. So in the derived conjugations in Ethiopic "to enter for worship."

82. See *J.Q.R.* xvi. 196 f. Büchler on the Bar Cochba wars.

83. Hoffmann, *Der Oberste Gericht*, p. 32.

84. Cf. S. Jampel, *Das Buch Esther*, Frankfurt (1907), p. 100, on small extent of Medina.

85. Cf. citations in Levy, *T.W.* ii. 270 a, b, s.v.

86. Herodotus, iii. 89, records the division of Satrapies into six or seven provinces; cf. Jampel, l.c.

87. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* v. 450.

88. Büchler, *Priester und Cultus*, p. 93.

89. v.l. חוּנִי בֵּית הַכִּנְסָה; cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 125.

90. Geiger, l.c., p. 124 f.

91. Büchler, l.c. p. 67 ff.

92. M. Joma iii. 9, iv. 1 (cf. Büchler, l.c. p. 91).

93. M. ib. vii. 1, cf. M. Sota vii. 7, 8.

94. *Urschrift*, p. 222. In later literature and inscriptions ראש הכנסת = chief of the Synagogue. Rachmuth, *Jüden in N. Africa*, *Monatschrift*, 1906, p. 49.

95. l.c. p. 125.

96. Tos. Bik. ii. 8.
97. M. Middoth, i. 1.
98. See Büchler, *Priester und Cultus*, pp. 136, 141-143.
99. Tos. Škalim (177<sup>3</sup>).
100. Cf. Büchler, l.c. p. 151.
101. Cf. *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> p. 649. The ס of סופר seems against this derivation.
102. Cf. Rashi, Deut. i. 15, vi. 18. Sifré Deut. § 15 (Ed. Friedmann). Cf. Jebamoth 86 b.
103. Cf. b. Mak. 23 a. אין מעמידין חונן אלא חסרי כח ויתירי דעת.
104. So the commentators, who only know the word in its later signification of "Synagogue overseers"; cf. Assyrian *huzânu* (*huzannu*), "Vorsteher, Oberste Stadtbehörde." Del. Hwb. 272 a, cf. חוני מתא, Baba Mezia, 93 pb (top).
106. Büchler, l.c. p. 96.
107. Tos. Suc. iv. 25 (200<sup>12</sup>).
108. So J. Bik. 65 c. (25).
109. Schürer, ii. p. 236 f.
110. Yad Bik. ii. 21 notes that the owner may delegate the duty to bring the Bikkurim, if he decide so to do, at the time of their in-gathering.
111. If of the incoming מישמר it would explain how, as the Mishna records the Bikkurim



belonged to the priests of the **משמר**, and not to the permanent priestly officers of the Temple.

112. **רחובה** or **רחבה** (b.h. **רחב** or **רחוב**) with fem. pl. As place in which travellers passed the night, cf. Gen. xix. 2; Judges xix. 15. An open space at the city gates, cf. Neh. viii. 1, 2, 16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 6). J. Bik. 65 c, interprets with **בבית הכנסת**. The Synagogue as a building is an institution of later date. The **רחובה** was, however, the place of meeting for prayer, Taan xv. b (ca. 12 bot.), cf. Isa. xv. 3; Jer. xlviii. 38; Amos v. 16. There the **אנשי מעמד** gathered for divine services.

113. M. Bik. iii. 2. J. ib. 65 c. Tos. ib. ii. 8 (101<sup>29</sup>).

114. That this is the meaning of **למשכים** is clear from the context, but the form is difficult. The Hifil is used to describe the entering into or taking up of a particular condition (Ges.—Kautzsch, § 53, d, e). Thus **השכם** would mean to enter into the condition (lit. “of loading”) of doing early (ib. § 114, n). The infinitive **השכם** is used absolutely as an adverb in Prov. xxvii. 14; 1 Sam. xvii. 16. This adverbial use of the infinitive has arisen from its use after a finite verb,—generally with another infinitive joined to it by the conjunctive waw,—to denote the mode or circumstance of an action or condition (ib. § 113 k). A similar use of two participles occurs, e.g., in 1 Sam. xvii. 41, ii. 26;

2 Sam. iii. 1; Esther ix. 4; Jon. iv. 11; 2 Chron. xvii. 12; Prov. iv. 18. The adverbial use of a participle alone is not admitted for Biblical Hebrew. Yet the analogy of the above-mentioned case of the infinitive seems to have given rise to such a usage. Such seems to be the usage of **משכים** in Jer. v. 8, for were it used adjectivally the plural would be necessary. A similar explanation seems to underlie the usage of the word in Hos. vi. 4, **וכטל משכים הולך**. The tonic accent connects it with **הולך**, so that the Massora does not regard it as qualifying **טל**. The word **משכים** thus stands absolutely as an adverb. The position of the adverb before the finite verb it modifies is to give emphasis to the idea it conveys. Cf. Ps. xcii. 6, etc. This rare use of the word in Biblical Hebrew recurs in our Mishnaic usage of the word, which tends to show that **משכים** for "early" was in general use. The tendency of a language in its later stages to emphasize ideas by additions and repetitions must account for the prefixed **ל** probably added on the analogy of **לפני**, **לבר**, **לעמס**, etc. Cf. **למכביר**, Job xxxvi. 31.

115. **הממונה**. Always the title of a priestly officer. See page 21 and Note 88.

116. Jer. xxxi. 5 b. **קומו ונעלה ציון אל בית ה'**. Cf. Isa. ii. 3. **אלהינו**.

117. **חזנין וכל בית הכנסת עולין עמהם**. Tos. Bik. ii. 8 (101<sup>29</sup>).

118. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. viii. 2, when Hyrcanus made a truce with Antiochus because of the Feast of Tabernacles, the latter "sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with horns gilded."

119. החליל מכה לפני יהם. The use of מכה in this phrase is peculiar. It is a Hifil participle of נכה (נָכַח), to smite, strike, push; so, to press the air through the flute (cf. תקע). Hence it is peculiarly used in the phrase for "the flute sounds," "plays." Cf. *Water Feast*, Note 61.

120. שתי ידות ביום. *Tos. Bik.* ii. 8 (101<sup>28</sup>). Two parts of the day, i.e. two-thirds. Cf. *Gen.* xlvii. 24. *Neh.* xi. 1.

121. *J. Bik.* iii. 2, 65 c. (14).

122. עטור הבכורים. *Bik.* iii. 3, cf. iii. 9, 10; *Yad Bik.* ii. 18.

123. *M. Bik.* iii. 5. Cf. *J. ib.* 65 d (37) and (31 bot.).

124. *M. Bik.* iii. 3.

125. *M. Bik.* iii. 4.

126. *M. ib.* *Tos. Bik.* ii. 10 (102<sup>1</sup>). It is inferred from this passage that Agrippa himself carried his basket. The אפילו with which his name is introduced hardly guarantees the historicity of the event. As to which Agrippa would be meant, cf. Büchler, *Priester und Cultus*, pp. 10 f.

127. *J. ib.* iii. 2, 65 c (15).

128. וכל בעלי אומניות שבירושלים עומדים לפנייהם.

The interchange of *יִיִּת* and *יִיִּת* is frequent. Cf. Strack and Siegfried, § 65 and 66 c. For compound plural *בְּעֵלֵי אוֹמְנֵיִת* cf. 1 Chron. vii. 5, 7, 11, 40. *גְּבוּרֵי חֵילִים*; Assyrian *ummânu*.

129. According to Maimonides, *Yad Bik. iii. 13*, the psalm was sung while the worshippers recited the prescribed passage. Cf. *Sifré Deut. xxvi. 11*. Philo speaks of the recitation of the prayer as an *ᾠσμα*.

130. *M. Bik. iii. 6*, *עוֹדְהוּ הַסֵּל עַל כְּתָפוֹ*; *J. ib. iii. 5*, *עוֹדֵינוּ*. The unusual *עוֹדְהוּ* would seem to be subjective, "while he is yet with the basket on his shoulder"; *עוֹדֵנוּ* objective, "while the basket is yet. . ."

131. *M. Bik. iii. 6. Ib. iii. 12*.

132. *M. Bik. iii. 7*. *בְּרֵאשְׁנָה כָּל מִי שִׁידַע לִקְרוֹת קוֹרֵא וְכָל מִי שֶׁאִינוּ יְדוּעַ לִקְרוֹא מִקְרִין אוֹתוֹ, גִּמְנָעוּ מִלְּהִבִּיא הַתְּקִינוּ שִׁיְהוּ מִקְרִין אֶת מִי שִׁידַע וְאֶת מִי שֶׁאִינוּ יְדוּעַ*. Philo speaks of the recitation as a song. *καὶ στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ βωμοῦ δίδωσι τῷ ἱεραὶ τὸ πάγκαλον καὶ θαυμάσιον ᾠσμα διεξιὼν. Εἰ δέ μὴ τύχοι μεμνημένος, ἀκούων παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως μετὰ προσοχῆς πάσης*. From this it would seem that Philo knew of the presentation only in the first of the two stages which the Mishna records. It also indicates that the recitation was by heart. The word *קָרָא*, which denotes to read from scripture (cf. Bacher, *Exeg. Termin. ii. 193*) thus also denotes to recite by heart; and in the *Hifil* to recite for a person, the person for whom the recitation is made being expressed

in the accusative. The Hifl is also used of the reading in school, in which the children repeat word by word with the leader ; and in synagogue, in which the congregation responded with the first verse of a chapter after each verse read by the leader. J. Sota, 20 c (8).

133. M. Bik. iii. 5.

134. J. ib. lxv. c (20). Sifré Deut. xvi. 11, cf. xxvi. 11. On the custom of pilgrims to bring with them the offering that is to provide the festive meal, cf. Smith, Sem. p. 147.

135. M. Bik. ii. 4. Yad, ib. iii. 14.

## II

# The Water Feast

### THE NAME

THE celebration described in the Mishna<sup>1</sup> as שמחת בית השואבה, and which in modified form is observed to this very day,<sup>2</sup> is recorded as an occasion of extraordinary festivity which gave rise to the saying that he who has not witnessed it has not seen what real joy is.<sup>3</sup> Yet the details of its observance have come down to us in very fragmentary form, and even its name is matter of dispute. Taylor's *Ethics of the Fathers*, p. 44, quotes the reading שאובה,<sup>4</sup> and the Mater Lectionis underlies our difficulty. Geiger (*Lesebuch d. Mishna*, Glossary, s.v. שאבה) would see in our word a Syriac מִבְּלָ from מִבֵּל, to burn; Arab. شَبَّ (cf. Assyrian ŠABÂBU), and so translates "torch." In this he is followed by Herzfeld, *Gesch.* ii. p. 179, and Kohut Aruch s.v. supports the rendering; but א,

though sometimes *Mater Lectionis* for  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\check{a}$ <sup>5</sup>, and sometimes even for  $\bar{e}$ <sup>6</sup>, never denotes  $\bar{u}$ . Herzfeld l.c. would surmount the difficulty which the  $\aleph$  presents by saying "Zur Erklärung des  $\aleph$  hätte er (i.e. Geiger) hinzufügen sollen dass dieses im Syrischen bei Verbis  $\text{ܥܝ}$  und  $\text{ܥܥ}$  regelmässig hingeschoben wird." This is true for the participle *Peal* active of these verbs, but proves nothing for the reading "shubo," let alone that the *qutl* form is altogether rare from  $\text{ܥܝ}$ <sup>7</sup> and that from  $\text{ܥܥ}$  the form would be *schubbo*.<sup>8</sup> It must, however, be noted that in the Talmud, as in Mandaean,  $\text{ܥܝ}$  and  $\text{ܥܥ}$  cannot be kept distinct,<sup>9</sup> nor is there any sign for the doubling of consonants,<sup>10</sup> cf. Talmudic קופה, Assyr. *Kuppu*, סלל√סולם, קרד√קירה, etc.<sup>11</sup> In Syriac too the  $\text{ܥ}$  (*waw*) might be for short *u*,<sup>12</sup> cf. ܥܥܐ, ܥܥܝܐ, ܥܥܬܐ; so that the form ܥܥܐ might go back to an  $\text{ܥܥܐ}$ . But ܥܥܐ denotes "aruit," and not "brennen." This indeed gives ܥܥܐ "Hitze," but not ܥܥܐ "Helles Licht, Fackel," for which there is no support, and which will have to be read ܥܥܐ, "aestus" in the passage quoted by Geiger. Nor does his reference to ܥܥܐ in its specialized meaning of "to blaze" save his translation. The retention of

the ש, ש, ש will have to be added against the connexion,<sup>13</sup> and though שאב is used for sucking up oil by a wick,<sup>14</sup> it gives no support for the rendering "torch." The rendering of בית השואבה by "Fackelhaus" will therefore have to be surrendered, and with it the idea that the torchlight processions and dances were the central features of the festival in its origin. Levy (N. H. s.v.) renders בית השואבה by "Die Tempelhalle . . . in welcher die grosse Procession beim Wasserschöpfen geschah," but the Women's Hall, the place of the celebration, is nowhere else so named. Even letting בית refer to the Temple as a whole, we are still faced with the difficulty that שואבה can only mean "the woman water-drawer."<sup>15</sup> There is, however, no reason to suppose that the water-drawing was ever performed by a woman or women (taking שואבה collectively) to justify L. Venetianer's translation<sup>16</sup> of "Freude des Hauses der Schöpferin." The justification of Jastrow's rendering,<sup>17</sup> "the well from which the water was drawn," is equally obscure. The Munich MS. 2 gives the reading שאובה,<sup>18</sup> and the variant points to some underlying textual corruption somewhere. The reading שאבה and the traditional שואבה point to a transitive qatilat form שואבה.<sup>19</sup> The Mishna will thus here also have



preserved a word in Hebrew that has otherwise not come down to us. From it the generally propagated, but in the context meaningless and evidently corrupted feminine participial form **שואבה**, will easily have arisen. The qatīlat form is, however, most frequent in Hebrew with stems that otherwise show an original i imperfect.<sup>19</sup>

The variant **חשובה** mentioned in b. Suc. 50 b. (top) is regarded as pointing to an original **שאוֹבה**, which MS. M. 2 supports, and it is indeed not impossible that the forms **שֹׁאֵבָה** and **שאוֹבָה** existed side by side ; cf. **גִּזְרָה** and **גוֹזְרָה**. It would be the feminine (of which New Hebrew is particularly fond, cf. Strack and Siegfried, § 55 a, 68 b, etc., especially with Nomina Actionis, § 46 b) of a qatûl (transit) which Hebrew has for abstracts of verbs of action (which in strong verbs almost always presupposes an u imperfect, but cf. **רפואה**).<sup>20</sup> The variant **חשובה** is, however, explained (l.c.) as meaning that the water libation is a **מִצְוַת חֲשׁוּבָה**, and may thus have nothing to do with the name. None the less it remains impossible to regard the MS. M. 2 reading as a scribal error, since it occurs consistently throughout the chapter. It may, however, be due to a misreading of **שאוֹבָה** for **שֹׁאֵבָה**, and the waw inserted after the א to

indicate the *o* pronunciation of the *qamez*, a device frequently resorted to by scribes. Cf. *לאומר*, *לדורשו*, etc. The form *שאָבָה*<sup>21</sup> would be a *qatilat* transitive form with abstract signification, "the act of drawing."<sup>22</sup> There is, however, nothing directly to support this reading, and the general propagation of *שואבה* points to *שאָבָה* as the correct and original form. That the name of the festival is understood to have bearing on the water-drawing is witnessed by b. Suk. 48 b, where reference to the water libation is sought for in Isa. xii. 3.

Even J. Suc. 55 a (23 bot.), where the name is metaphorically interpreted on the basis of this verse, points rather to an association of the name with the water libation than with torches, as does also the discussion in Suc. 50 b (top). Yet Herzfeld, who sees in Isa. xii. 3 evidence of the celebration of the festivity in Isaiah's time, follows Geiger against this Association, and allows to the illuminations the pre-eminent significance of the celebration.

We have now to consider the meaning of *בית* in connexion with *שאבה*. The Assyrian *BITU* denotes House, Temple, Receptacle, and possibly also, in the construct before Proper Names, "Place."<sup>23</sup> All these mean-

ings are present in the Rabbinic usage, besides other metaphorical denotations. To prove its use as a time determinative Herzfeld points to **בית ולדא**, Targ. Gen. xl. 20, and **בֵּית לֵיל** "birthday"; but this phrase is too intimately associated with the horoscope to infer from it that **בית** is used as a time determinative, particularly since in Gen. xl. 20 **יום** precedes.<sup>24</sup> "House, or Place, of water-drawing" is also improbable, because the place of the festivity was not the place of the water drawing. The meaning Receptacle is thus alone left us, and **בית השאבה** denotes the vessel for the water-drawing.<sup>25</sup> That this vessel was of especial significance is evident from M. Suc. iv. 9-10. Cf. quotation in Herzfeld, *Gesch.* ii. 179, top of page, on the *ὕδρειον*, the vessel for the water carried in the Egyptian procession. Cf. also Chabas, *Notice sur une table à libations de la collection de M. E. Guimet*, p. 21 ff., on use of water in Egyptian rites. "Ces préliminaires nous font bien comprendre l'importance des libations en général et l'intérêt des tables *et des vases* . . ." So too in the Ašipu-ritual the entire ceremony centred around the holy water-bowl (Julian Morgenstern, "The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion," *Mittheilung d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* 1905, Heft

3, p. 128, et cf. passim); cf. Note 144, cf. also Note 109.

שמחה denotes "Joy," "Festivity," "Festive Celebration," and also specifically "The Festive Meal," "Wedding."<sup>26</sup> שמחת בית השאבה thus denotes the festivity celebrated about the vessel of or for the drawn water (or the water-drawing), and the name is not to be forced into association with illuminations.<sup>27</sup>

### TIME OF CELEBRATION

The celebration began at nightfall on the 15th of Tishri (first day of Tabernacles),<sup>28</sup> and lasted until the following morning. It was in similar manner repeated on the other nights of the intervening days of Tabernacles with the exception of Friday night,<sup>29</sup> but began on these after the offering of the evening sacrifice,<sup>30</sup> and continued through the rest of the day and the whole night.<sup>31</sup> The omission of the festivity on the Sabbath is accounted for by the fact that it is a שמחה יתירה, a superfluous or additional festivity,<sup>32</sup> which attitude will explain the meagreness of the accounts which have come down to us. R. José b. Jehuda (end of the second century) holds that this celebration denoted by החליל, "the flute," *did* take place on Friday night.<sup>33</sup>

The contrasted opinions are called forth by no homiletical or exegetical interpretations, but represent two different traditions, of which R. José's must go back to the time before that of which the Mishna speaks, i.e. before the victory of the Pharisees gave them control of the Temple through the deposition of Anan (63 c.e.), and when the Sadducee Halacha was still the official one in the Temple. Then the flute will have been used on the mornings of all the first seven days of the festival to lead the procession to and from the spring from which the water for the libation was drawn. The context alone is against the reference of the dispute to the חליל של קרבן as both Talmudim do (l.c.), the Babli expressly stating that there is no difference of opinion concerning our Water Feast, while in the Jerushalmi the difficulty is raised that if the dispute turns on the twelve occasions when the flute was used in the orchestral accompaniment of the sacrificial service, this must include the Sabbath as one of the eight days of Tabernacles. That the dispute is quoted in the Tos. Suc. l.c. in the course of the regulations for the Water Feast would show that this feast is the occasion of the dispute. Furthermore, the twelve occasions on which the flute was used in the orchestral

accompaniment of the sacrificial service expressly include the festival days themselves, M. Erech. ii. 3. If, then, the difference between R. José and his opponent refers to these occasions, the opinion of the latter (Tos. Suc. l.c.) that אף יום טוב אינו דוחה, that the flute cannot be played on the holy days of the festivals, would have no meaning. Again, in Tos. Erech. i. 13, where this contrasted opinion of the Rabbis is not given, the statement that one and not two flutes is to be used proves that the dispute is not about the חליל של קרבן, the twelve occasions for which the Mishna l.c. prescribes two to twelve flutes; so that this passage of the Tosefta distinctly points away from the twelve occasions. The dispute is therefore concerning some other occasion than these, and is to be connected, as its place in Tos. Suc. l.c. indicates, with the M. Suc. v. 1, where the view opposed to that of R. José is put forward as the Halacha. החליל חמשה ושהה זהו החליל של בית השואבה שאינה דוחה לא את השבת ולא את יום טוב. The Talmud, in commenting on this Mishna, brings the view of R. José forward; but regarding the statement of the Mishna as the only possible view for the Water Feast connects R. José's expression of opinion with the twelve occasions on which the flute was

played before the altar, i.e. on the דוכן, the steps leading from the court of laymen to that of priests (cf. Büchler, *J.Q.R.* x. 699, Note 2, on דוכן). Chwolson, *Letzte Passahmal Jesu*, p. 63, to Note 3, quotes instances of the obliteration of variant traditions concerning older and deposed Halachoth. The phrase אף יום טוב אינו דוחה would thus seem to imply that according to R. José's tradition the flute was also used before the first libation of water on the first day of the Festival. Targ. J. Deut. xvi. 14 has ותִּיחַדֹּן בַּחֵג בְּשֹׁאֲבֵתָא וְחִלִּיל. In all probability the celebration originally consisted merely of a procession to and from Siloa led by a flute. This will explain why the festivity is denoted by החליל, M. Suc. iv. 1, v. 1, etc., in which, naming Venetianer ("Die Eleusin. Mysterien im Temple," *Brill's popul. Wissensch. Monatsblätter*, xvii. 170, 174), would find a support for his association of the festival with the Eleusinian mysteries. When the Pharisees brought about the emphasizing of the celebration for reasons to be considered, and the flute was used to lead torchlight processions and dances outside the sanctuary proper, then it was omitted on the Sabbath and the first night of the festival, when its use outside of the sanctuary proper would have been a breach of the law. Cf.

Chwolson, *Das Letzte Passahmal Jesu*, p. 19, and J. H. Weiss, דור דור ודורשיו, i. p. 115, on דוחה את השבת. Thus the commencement of the celebration on the second night of the festival is accidental and not an intentional imitation of the commencement of the Eleusinian mysteries on the 15th Boedromion. Thus another support on which Venetianer bases his reference of the Water Feast to these Mysteries (l.c. p. 175) falls away.

### THE PLACE OF THE FESTIVITY

As described in the Mishna, the festivity was celebrated in the עזרת נשים or Women's Hall of the Temple,<sup>34</sup> and it is necessary that we devote some attention to this building. Josephus<sup>35</sup> speaks of four rectangular parts of the Temple Mount contained within each other. The first of these was accessible to all, including non-Jews. It was bounded on the outside by the first surrounding wall of the Temple Mount,<sup>36</sup> and from within by the low grate of the heathens bearing inscriptions forbidding non-Jews to pass beyond it on pain of death.<sup>37</sup> Then followed the second court, accessible to ritually clean Jews and their wives. It lay between the grate of the heathens, or סורג, and the second surrounding wall of the Temple, with its seven



gates, through none of which women were allowed to pass. These seven gates were situated three each in the north and south walls, and one in the east wall.<sup>38</sup> The third court, open only to ritually clean Jewish men and bounded on the outer side by this second surrounding wall with its seven gates, was separated from the fourth and innermost court, accessible to priests only, by a low stone wall.<sup>39</sup> It thus follows from the accounts of Josephus, as Professor Büchler has demonstrated,<sup>40</sup> that the forecourt accessible to women was outside of the second surrounding wall, and so the space which Josephus tells us was set apart on the east side for women to pray in <sup>41</sup> must have been outside of this wall too. Josephus tells us further <sup>42</sup> that there were four gates on the north and south sides, and two on the east side. He accounts for the latter two by pointing out that a space for women having been walled in, a second gate was necessary opposite the east gate of the surrounding wall; and for the fourth gates, on the north and south sides, by saying there was one gate each on the north and south walls of the women's enclosure. He thus speaks of the gates in the north and south sides of the women's enclosure as in a line with those of

the corresponding sides of the second surrounding wall, only on a lower level, since fifteen steps led from the court of women to the greater gate,<sup>43</sup> which is described as the east gate of the forecourt of laymen,<sup>44</sup> so that the western wall of the women's enclosure, being formed by the rock on which the Temple stood, had no gate. This harmonizes with the account in *Ant.* XV. xi. 5, where Josephus tells us of the low stone wall forming the bound of heathens, that it had three gates on the north and south sides, and one greater gate on the east side. Josephus speaks only of the eastern gates as being entered by ritually clean Jews and their wives. For since women were not allowed to pass beyond the second surrounding wall, and as we shall see the whole of the spaces between the Soreg and that wall were on the north and south sides occupied by the stairs that led to the gates, the gates on the north and south sides were of no practical use for them. Thus there was no need for fourth gates on the north and south sides of the Soreg corresponding to those on the same sides of the women's enclosure. It has been generally supposed that Josephus here speaks of the gates in the second surrounding wall;<sup>45</sup> but the context makes it quite clear that he

is speaking of the Soreg or boundary of the heathens. Thus all explanation and emendation <sup>46</sup> is unnecessary.

The Mishna too speaks of four עזרות. M. Kel. i. 8 gives us in an order proceeding east to west (1) the עזרת נשים, or hall accessible to women ; (2) the עזרת ישראל, or hall to which male Jews had access ; (3) the עזרת כהנים, or hall of priests ; and M. Mid. v. 1 gives us in addition (4) העזרה, the Hall *par excellence*. In agreement with Josephus we learn of the first surrounding wall within which was the Soreg or Grate of the Heathens. Then comes the עזרת נשים, or Hall of Women, 135 cubits square, the עזרת ישראל, or Hall of Laymen, and the עזרת כהנים, or Hall of Priests, each measuring 135 cubits long and 11 cubits wide. We learn further that the עזרת נשים, or Women's Hall of the Mishna, lies outside of the second surrounding wall, and is indeed identical not with the second rectangular forecourt of which Josephus speaks as having been accessible to women, but with the space which he tells us was walled in for women within that forecourt. For we learn that the עזרה was 187 cubits long and 135 cubits broad. The whole of this length is accounted for by the given dimensions of its component parts in the order east to west. Eleven

cubits were taken up by the space to which the laymen had access, **מקום דריסת ישראל**, and eleven by that of the priests, **מקום דריסת כהנים**. These are then identical with the **עזרת ישראל** and **עזרת כהנים**, which are described as 135 cubits and 11 cubits, and are mentioned in the same order (M. Mid. ii. 6) before the altar (ib. iii. 1), and the entrance to the vestibule (ib. iii. 6) and to the Temple (ib. iv. 1). The whole of the first 22 cubits within the **עזרה** are thus accounted for. Then follow 22 cubits for the altar, 32 from the altar to the vestibule, 100 for the Temple, and 11 behind the Temple to the west wall. The Mishna thus confirms what Professor Büchler has shown to follow from Josephus in so far as it places the space for laymen and for priests together with the Temple in one surrounding wall, but, on the other hand, it makes them two halls behind each other instead of two rectangular courts within each other. We see also that the **עזרת נשים** finds no place within the surrounding wall. As it was 135 cubits square it could not be a court around that wall with the width of which its sides corresponded. Since fifteen steps led from it to the eastern gate of the court of laymen, it must have been a building on the outside of the eastern side of the second surrounding wall, whose north

and south sides were on a line with, though on a lower level than, the north and south sides of that wall, thus corresponding exactly with the walled in space for women of which Josephus speaks, and not with his second rectangular circumventing forecourt of women. We miss, then, all mention in the Mishna of the rectangular courts of which Josephus speaks, and in Josephus all mention of the halls behind each other of which the Mishna speaks. We have seen that both Josephus and the Mishna speak of a first surrounding wall. Josephus, who describes the north and south sides of the Temple,<sup>47</sup> tells us the second enclosure was encompassed by the wall forming the boundary for heathens, and was reached by a few steps, according to *Bell.* V. v. 2 fourteen in number. Here we are told that "between the top fourteenth step and the wall there was yet a space of ten yards, from which other five-step flights of stairs led to the gates." The Mishna, which in contrast to Josephus speaks of the eastern side of the Temple Mount, tells us also that within the first surrounding wall was the Soreg or boundary for heathens. Then we are told לפנים ממנו החיל עשר אמות ושתים עשרה מעלות היו שם. The word חיל, originally meaning surrounding wall, came to

be applied to the space between two surrounding walls (cf. Oxford Gesenius, 298 a). So in M. Kel. i. 8 we find Hêl mentioned between the first surrounding wall of the Temple and the Women's Hall. In M. Mid. i. 5, 7 the space adjoining the northern wall is called Hêl. Thus the whole space between the first surrounding wall on the one hand and the wall which circumvented the עזרה, together with the three walls of the Women's Hall on the other, was called Hêl. In the above passage from M. Mid. ii. 3, however, the word היל would apply, and is generally interpreted as applying, to a particular space of ten cubits. It is self-evident that with the words וי"ב מעלות היו שם begins a parenthesis breaking the order of progress from east to west, and lasting till the end of § 4. As all traditions agree in regarding the space of ten cubits as a clear one, it is impossible to interpret the word שם as meaning that the twelve steps were within it. The Mishna here then evidently uses the word היל in its general application, and tells us that within the Hêl there were twelve steps and a space of ten cubits. I therefore suggest that the words עשר אמות should not be connected with ההיל, but with the following phrase, to read וי"ב מעלות היו שם עשר אמות, the

word חיל being used in its general application to the space between two walls, the plain space of ten cubits being here, as in Josephus, without any special designation. Otherwise, indeed, one would expect החיל רחב עשר אמות or חיל של י' אמות. The sense of the passage, then, is that after the Soreg came the חיל, i.e. the second rectangular forecourt,<sup>48</sup> within which there were the space of ten cubits and twelve steps. Comparison with Josephus enables us to decide that these steps led up to, and not from, the space of ten cubits; for Josephus places a space of ten cubits after the fourteenth step on the north and south sides. According to Professor Büchler's interpretation <sup>49</sup> there would be two spaces of ten yards each, one before and one after the twelve or fourteen steps. Neither Josephus, however, nor the Mishna anywhere speaks of such a space at the bottom between the Soreg and the first step as well as at the top after the fourteenth step. Thus we have not only the Women's Hall on the east side and the spaces of ten cubits on the north and south sides on the same level, with allowance for ground formation,<sup>50</sup> but also these latter spaces and the similar one on the east side, forming a rectangular continuous circumventing terrace ten cubits in width, to which fourteen steps

led on the north and south sides, and twelve steps on the lower east side.

We are now in a position to explain another point which has remained unnoticed. In *Bell.* V. v. 2 we are told that there were five-step flights of stairs leading from the plain space of ten cubits to the gates. Here, as we have seen, Josephus speaks of the northern and southern sides of the second surrounding wall. Indeed, in the east side there was only one gate, which later in this paragraph he names "the greater one," because it was larger than the other six, as were also the other eastern gates, these being most used. At the end of § 3 we are told that fifteen steps led from the wall which bounded the forecourt of women to the greater gate—earlier defined as the gate leading from the forecourt of women into the sanctuary, i.e. the enclosure within the second wall—five steps less than to the other gates. It follows, then, that the number earlier omitted should be four. Thus twenty steps led from the ten cubit terraces to the northern and southern gates, and fifteen to the eastern gate, of the second surrounding wall. The steps, according to Josephus, covered the whole length of the second surrounding wall on the north and south sides. For he tells us (*Bell.* V. v. 2) that the



outer height of these walls, which was really forty cubits, was partly covered by the steps. Thus the whole space between the Soreg and that wall on those sides were occupied by the two sets of stairs and the terrace between them. Since the women could not pass beyond the second wall, and there were no gates on the north and south sides of the Soreg opposite those gates of the Women's Hall, to enter that hall from the north or south sides would have meant a circumvention through the first court to the eastern side. Hence we may assume that women used the eastern gate only, or at least in preponderance. Possibly before the erection of the Women's Hall the steps on the eastern side, also covering the whole of the eastern wall, will have left little free space accessible to women. Hence the necessity of erecting the Women's Hall, in order to increase the amount of clear space, when ladies began to visit the Temple in larger numbers, if, as Professor Büchler maintains, that was the occasion of its erection.<sup>51</sup> It is, of course, not to be assumed that men were excluded from the Women's Hall.<sup>52</sup> Tos. Suc. iv. 1 (198<sup>6</sup>) tells us that at first women watched the celebration of the Water Feast from the outer side, while men were on the inner side ; but,

as this did not prevent the occurrence of cases of excess, three galleries were erected in the עזרה, corresponding to three sides, and the women watched the celebrations from the galleries, so that the mingling of the sexes was prevented. The Babli precedes this first stage with one in which the women were on the inner side, then they changed places with the men, and then the galleries were erected. The galleries and the three sides betray that by עזרה is meant the עזרת נשים. The festivities will thus have taken place originally in the היל, or second surrounding court, and the erection of the Women's Hall, עזרת נשים, will later have given the opportunity for the precautionary measure of the erection of the galleries and the transference of the festivity to it.

The Mishna thus has, in common with Josephus, the first surrounding court, which, in accordance with its degree of sanctity, it names הר הבית, and the second, the היל. Within the היל the Women's Court was erected, so that the היל was then bounded on the inner side by the walls of the עזרה, plus those of the עזרת נשים. It then has the עזרת ישראל behind the עזרת נשים, and the עזרת כהנים behind the עזרת ישראל, while the עזרה is itself in line with and behind the עזרת נשים. Instead of these Josephus names

circumventing courts within each other. (With עזרה cf. عَذْرَة, Locus apertus ante habitacula, Freytag, iii. 126) (cf. Lisan 6,228 = فناء الدار, etc., BEZ).

### THE CELEBRATION

On the occasion of the Water Feast, the only celebration in the Temple that took place at night, the Women's Hall was illuminated with golden candlesticks<sup>53</sup> reaching over the height of the walls,<sup>54</sup> and crowned by four golden lamps,<sup>55</sup> each of which was reached by a ladder;<sup>56</sup> at the bottom of every ladder stood a son of the priests who held permanent office in the Temple,<sup>57</sup> with a pitcher of 30 (?) "log" of oil, from which he fed the lamp in his charge.<sup>58</sup> The wicks for the lamps were provided from the worn-out breeches and girdles<sup>59</sup> of the common priests,<sup>60</sup> which were torn up into strips and plaited into wicks<sup>61</sup> for the illumination of the festival, and placed in the bowls that served as lamps, over the brims of which their burning ends hang down,<sup>62</sup> no doubt from spouts provided for the purpose.

No sooner had night fallen on the first day of Tabernacles than the sons of the priestly officers of the Temple took up their

posts by their respective lamps. Others were told off to see that the men and women kept their respective places; <sup>63</sup> the women on the balconies <sup>64</sup> provided for them and the men below. Men recognized for their position or piety <sup>65</sup> joined in torchlight processions and dances, <sup>66</sup> led by the player of a flute. <sup>67</sup> It is related of R. Simon b. Gamaliel, the grandson of Hillel (c. 50–70 c.e.) that on the occasion of this festival he performed a dance with eight lighted torches, throwing them into the air and catching them again without one touching another or falling to the ground, <sup>68</sup> and that he was the only person of his time who could perform the קידה, <sup>69</sup> which consisted in bending over to kiss the ground while standing on the great toes, <sup>70</sup> and resuming the upright position without using one's hands. <sup>71</sup> These processions and dances were accompanied by cantillations of religious content. "Happy he who has not sinned, and may the sinner be forgiven," they sang in chorus. "Happy our youth that does not shame our manhood," was the refrain of those taking part in the dances, whose position and piety placed them above suspicion. "Happy our manhood that atones for our youthful failings," was the one with which the onlookers joined in. <sup>72</sup>

Hillel is, on the occasion of this festival, reported to have spoken the dicta, "Whither I wish, there my feet lead me. If thou comest to my house, I will come to thine. If thou comest not to my house, I will not come to thine," supporting it by quoting Exodus xx. 24b.<sup>73</sup> To the occasion of this festival also is attributed his saying, "If I am here, all is here; and if I am not here, who is here?"<sup>74</sup> or, "If we are here, who is here?" and "If we are not here, who is here?" The Babli adds to these two the saying concerning the floating head which is quoted in Hillel's name in *Ethics of the Fathers*, ii. 6.<sup>75</sup> Towards morning the scenes of mirth and merry-making gave way to the more solemn chanting of the fifteen "Songs of Degrees" (Pss. cxx. to cxxxiv.), led by the choir and orchestra of Levites to the accompaniment of musical instruments of many kinds, the Levites having taken up their position for the purpose on the fifteen steps leading from the Court of Laymen to that of Women.<sup>76</sup> The Levites sang Ps. cxxxiv., the last of the fifteen Songs of Degrees, antiphonally,<sup>77</sup> so that the first verse of this psalm was recited by the leader of the Levitical choir; <sup>78</sup> the Levites continued with the next two verses.<sup>79</sup> This Psalm contains

the call of the Levites on those assembled for the festivity to take up the song of praise.<sup>80</sup> Then, repeating Ps. cxxviii. 5, 6, the Levites withdrew.<sup>81</sup>

Two priests,<sup>82</sup> with trumpets<sup>83</sup> in their hands, then mounted the stairs to await the dawn of day, until which time Pss. cxxxv. and cxxxvi. were recited by the assembled multitude.<sup>84</sup> With the first two verses of Ps. cxxxv. the leader of the assembly took up the invitation of the Levites contained in Ps. cxxxiv., of which these verses are an echo. Then הללויה, of v. 3 marks the beginning of the recitation by the congregation, the leader reading verse after verse, while the congregation joins in after each verse with their response, consisting of v. 3, the real first verse of the psalm.<sup>85</sup>

This recitation continued until the dawn of day. When the dawn was announced by the official to whom that duty belonged,<sup>86</sup> the above-named priests<sup>87</sup> blew their trumpets. After this first set of trumpet signals they descended to the tenth step<sup>88</sup> and blew them again,<sup>89</sup> then down to the Women's Hall, on reaching which they blew their calls a third time, continuing to blow them as they walked across the Hall to its eastern gate.<sup>90</sup> This repeated trumpet-blowing end-

ing with the slow progress across the hall, we may interpret as the signal for the psalm-reading to be concluded, and, with Herzfeld,<sup>91</sup> as the signal for those who had assembled to witness the festivities and remained till morning, to disperse. The priests, then turning about to face westwards towards the sanctuary, said, with obvious reference to Ezekiel viii. 16, "Our fathers who were in this place turned their backs on the sanctuary and faced eastwards, for they bowed down in worship eastwards towards the sun. But we are His, and our eyes are turned towards Him" <sup>92</sup>—if, indeed, we are not to read לֵיהּ, "to God," instead of לֵיהּ, "to Him."

Some deputies from the Pharisaic teachers <sup>93</sup> went to Moṣa,<sup>94</sup> a place to the north-east of Jerusalem, where they gathered poplar twigs,<sup>95</sup> which the priests set up around the altar so that their ends overhung it.<sup>96</sup> Others, again, set themselves in procession <sup>97</sup> in the opposite direction, to accompany the priest to whose lot it fell <sup>98</sup> to draw water for the libation from the Siloa, in a golden vessel provided for the purpose.<sup>99</sup> When these, on their return, reached the water-gate,<sup>100</sup> the trumpets were blown.<sup>101</sup> The priest then ascended the altar from the south,<sup>102</sup> and turned to the left so as to

reach the south-east corner,<sup>103</sup> where there were two silver bowls,<sup>104</sup> the one towards the west for the water, the one to the east of it for the wine. Each of these bowls were provided with a narrow spout,<sup>105</sup> of which the bowl for the wine had the larger one, so that the wine and water should flow out simultaneously.<sup>106</sup> The procession from Siloa will have arrived when the poplar twigs were set up around the altar and the morning sacrifice was ready to be offered.<sup>107</sup> This latter having been done,<sup>108</sup> the wine and water were poured into their respective bowls,<sup>109</sup> and then, as the priest was about to perform the libation upon the altar,<sup>110</sup> those standing around called to him, "Raise your hand high, for one once poured the libation to his feet and the people pelted him with their citrons."<sup>111</sup> After the libation the trumpet signals were blown once more.<sup>112</sup> This served as the signal for the commencement of the procession around the altar with the palm branches,<sup>113</sup> to the recitation of Ps. cxviii. 25, . . . 'אנה ה'.<sup>114</sup> The ceremony ended with the repeated exclamation of *יופי לך מזבה*, "Beauty is thine, oh, Altar!" The libation was performed on an intervening Sabbath as on other days. The procession to Siloa was, however, omitted.



The water for the libation was set apart on the Friday in a golden vessel, which, however, was not specially consecrated to the libation.<sup>115</sup> The setting up of the poplar twigs was omitted unless the Sabbath was the seventh and last day of the festival, when the circumvention of the altar was performed seven times, while on the other six, or if Sabbath was an intermediate day, five days it was performed once; <sup>116</sup> but this must form a chapter for special investigation.

#### CONCLUSION

There can be little reason for doubting the faithfulness of the tradition which represents the water libation as an appeal for rain,<sup>117</sup> to the invocation of which various ceremonies were dedicated among varying peoples.<sup>118</sup> When this water libation became part of the regular Temple service for the Feast of Tabernacles is, however, an obscure point. In the Old Testament we meet with a water libation of religious import in 1 Sam. vii. 6; Isaiah xii. 3 might point to some festive ceremony of water-drawing as underlying, and so making intelligible, its metaphor.<sup>119</sup> As Robertson Smith points out, the appeal in the song at the well (Num. xxi. 17), that it might "spring up," can hardly have been

symbolical in its origin.<sup>120</sup> So, too, the frequent mention of the *יריד*<sup>121</sup> in the Talmud<sup>122</sup> would point to the possibility of the Water Feast being of native Palestinian origin, but it is hardly possible that it will owe its origin to the, by the Jews despised, *יריד*. The earliest date we have for the Water *Feast* as part of the celebration of Tabernacles is the reported participation of Hillel,<sup>123</sup> and apparently also of Jesus.<sup>124</sup> Indirectly, we can infer that the water *libation* formed part of the sacrificial service of Tabernacles at the time of Alexander Janai. Fruitful seasons were the object of petition at the sacred springs.<sup>125</sup> Thus Kazwīnī, i. 189, records of the well at Ilābistān that when the waters failed, a feast was held with music and dancing to induce it to flow again.<sup>126</sup> Baudissin<sup>126</sup> argues that "Die Anerkennung der die Quellen segnenden befruchtenden Kraft ist es auch welche die spätere Sitte des Wasserschöpfens am Laubhütten fest veranlasste." The pains at which the doctors of the Talmud are to declare the water libation as of Pentateuchal or Prophetic origin<sup>127</sup> would indeed tend to indicate its late introduction. Greeks who witnessed or heard of the celebration thought it a Dionysian festivity.<sup>128</sup> The last day of this

latter was dedicated to the Chthonic gods, and probably the ὑδροφόρεια was a water libation for those who perished in the flood,<sup>129</sup> with which libation the celebration ended, as did the Eleusinian Mysteries, with the πλημαχόαι.<sup>130</sup> Herzfeld, in his *Geschichte*,<sup>131</sup> suggested that the celebration at Jerusalem owed its origin to the Dionysian celebrations. Venetianer, in his *Die Eleusinische Mysterien im Tempel zu Jerusalem*, endeavours to follow out in detail the connexion he predicates for our festivity with the Eleusinian Mysteries, on the basis of resemblances which we have seen to be accidental, if indeed they can at all be said to exist, and one or two others which he himself declares as inconclusive.<sup>132</sup> The ceremonial of the Feast of Tabernacles lent itself easily to foreign associations. The myrtle, a post-exilic introduction into the Tabernacles of the festival (Neh. viii. 15), as also the palm-branches, were plants sacred to Aphrodite (Astarte),<sup>133</sup> the chief goddess of Sidon, where religious prostitution formed part of her cult, as was the case with that of the בעלת גבל,<sup>134</sup> i.e. βααλτίς, the Ἀφροδίτη βυβλίη, at whose temple in Byblos Lucian relates (*Dea Syria*, 6) the Mysteries of Adonis were celebrated. Lucian reports that the mourning for Adonis, according to some,

Osiris, began when his river turned red. This was said to be caused by the blood of Adonis, who was killed at that season. The celebration at Byblos seems to trace its origin to Egypt, as indicated by the legend of the floating head, which the Byblians declared came floating to them from Egypt, wafted under divine pilotage. This head, Lucian says, he saw, and noted that it was made of Egyptian paper.<sup>135</sup> In Egypt water libations formed an important part of the Osiris ritual. Cf. Chabas, *Notice sur une Table à Libation de la collection d. M.E. Guimet*, p. 22 : " Cette effusion de l'eau constitue la libation proprement dite. . . . Il fallait que l'eau fût répandue par les descendants du défunt <sup>136</sup> . . . le rite s'attachait du reste au plus haute conception du Mythe Osirien. Osiris avait été ramené à la vie par l'effusion de l'eau et chaque nouvel Osiris ne ressuscitait que par l'effusion de l'eau . . . Les libations étaient faites avec l'eau pure et fraîche ; certaines eaux paraissent cependant avoir joui d'une faveur spéciale. D'abord celle du Nil, puis les eaux que le défunt a préférées sur la terre, enfin l'eau d'Héliopolis. L'eau de cette ville sainte avait probablement servi pour les libations d'Osiris, et c'est à un motif mythologique qu'il faut rapporter la faveur dont elle a jouie ensuite."

The nearest approach to the water libation is, however, that one which Lucian describes as having taken place in the temple of the Dea Syria Atargatis or Derketo at Hieropolis. Twice a year water was brought from the Euphrates and poured into an opening in the Temple, which was said to have absorbed the waters of the Flood. The name Atargatis, according to Baethgen,<sup>137</sup> indicates that this divinity was an assimilation of a god and goddess, in the effort towards monotheistic conceptions. This assimilation was reflected in the priests of the Dea Syria, the emasculated Galli. The first part of the name corresponds to עתתר, the Himyaritic male form of (עשתרת).<sup>138</sup> With the Sabaeans Astarte was a male god. Since there were, in Askalon, distinct temples for Astarte and Atargate, these gods are to be kept distinct. From the time of Sanherib, however, Ištar (Astarte) occupied a prominent place in the Assyrio-Babylonian Pantheon. There were two Ištars, one of Nineveh, the other of Arbela, identified with the morning and evening stars.<sup>139</sup> It thus seems possible that about the time when Judea stood under Assyrian influence, the Ištar cult should have found its way thither, with others of Babylonian origin ; and so Isaiah xii. 3 may really

be an utterance in protest against a foreign rite, even as at a later date Jesus spoke the protest, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink" (John vii. 37). Ištar is in the Babylonian mythology conceived as spending part of her time, with the other gods of light, in the underworld, where the waters of life are stored in charge of the Anunkai.<sup>140</sup> Before being restored to heaven Ištar is sprinkled by them with the waters of life. Then she leaves the realm of the dead, restoring life to the creative world.<sup>141</sup> Already in the pre-exilic period, the prophets denounce the priests for their devotion to the immoral Astarte cult and their consequent violation of Temple property.<sup>142</sup> Ezekiel viii. 14-16 gives us clear evidence that the Šamaš and Tammuz cults had found their way into the Temple. As Ištar Šamaš and Tammuz all filled important rôles in the Babylonian religion, it is not to be believed that the closer contact of the Jews with Babylon in the exile will have tended to eradicate the memory of these cults. Even the language of the eighteen benedictions, a prayer in all probability of distinctly pharisaic tendency, and one in which polemical utterances found their place, did not remain without trace of the influ-

ence of Babylon.<sup>143</sup> As the Rabbis, in protest, transferred the attributes which the Babylonians applied to Marduk, so also did they transfer the water libation, as an appeal for fruitful season, from Marduk<sup>144</sup> and Ištar to God; and, in order the more to emphasize that the appeal was not one to the Chthonic gods, insisted on its being poured over the hearth of the altar, and not, as was the case with other libations, at its base; <sup>145</sup> and, as was the case in Babylon <sup>146</sup> (as also in Egypt and in the Eleusinian Mysteries), the water for this libation was drawn from a sacred source.

While we have no clear and direct evidence of the use of the water libation in the Temple at Jerusalem before the exile, it is, as Herzfeld points out, not likely that so important a feature would have been grafted on the altar ritual after the reorganization of the community under Ezra and Nehemiah. The addition of this water libation will, however, have added another to the already existing foreign associations which the ceremonial of the Feast of Tabernacles presented. When Alexander Janai poured the water libation to his feet, he will have been understood thereby to declare it an offering to the Chthonic gods, and also to pro-

claim his own adhesion to the malpractices of the Hellenic priests of the pre-Maccabean period, who seem to have introduced the immoral Astarte cult into Jerusalem. With the Maccabean victory this cult will have been expelled, but apparently reintroduced by the φιλέλλην, Aristobulus I. (105 B.C.). (See Büchler in *Vierteljahrschrift für Bibelkunde*, i. [1903-4], pp. 13 ff.). For the time of Alexander Janai (103-76 B.C.) we have no evidence of recognized festivities in connexion with the water libation. It is, as Chwolson points out,<sup>147</sup> "Eine schon öfters ausgesprochene Ansicht dass in den Mysterien die Culte ausgeübt wurden die durch andere aus dem öffentlichen Leben verdrängt wurden." As the author of the Psalms of Solomon (c. 63 B.C.) denounces the priests for practices which, as Büchler (l.c.) has shown, find their explanation in the Astarte cult, we may infer that the malpractices were maintained, if secretly, none the less strongly enough to be known and noted. Alexander Janai's action will have indicated his association with them. Hence the ire it provoked. When the Pharisees gained power they no doubt made any misapplication of the water libation impossible, not only by introducing the regulation that the priest performing the



libation was to raise his hand high, so that it could be seen that he poured the water *on the altar*, but also by appropriating the nights of the festival for public celebrations within the precincts of the Temple, and with great, and, in the record of the Mishna, very much emphasized illuminations (cf. Note 54). Thus the dicta of Hillel, "If we are here, who is here? and if we are not here, who is here?" finds its explanation (cf. Note 74). Possibly too, his reference to the floating head which the Babli quotes among his utterances with respect to the Water Feast, may be a mocking allusion to the legend of the Byblians, to dissociate the Water Feast from any foreign connexions and interpretations. The other of the sayings (p. 77), said to have been uttered by him on the occasion of this festivity, will thus also explain itself as an exhortation to the sages and public to attend and prevent by their presence any secret misappropriation of the occasion for licentious malpractices or misdemeanours on the part of the priests. Thus also, when the priests, after the conclusion of the nightly festivities, having blown their signals to clear the Women's Hall, turned towards the sanctuary and dissociated themselves from their fathers' leanings to foreign

cults by the recitation of the words which Ezek. viii. 16 puts into their mouths, their action finds its natural explanation in this chain of events.

## NOTES

1. M. Suc. v. 1.
2. Cf. Luncz. Jerusalem. *Jahrbuch*, i. p. 40. But merely in convivality, and as a faint reminiscence.
3. מי שלא ראה שמחת בית השואבה לא ראה שמחה מימיו.
4. So also Lowe's edition of the Palestinian Recension of the Mishna.
5. Cf. Laudauer in *A. Berliner's Festschrift*.
6. חרר<sup>2</sup> חר<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dalman, Gram. Pal. Aram. § 12 a.
7. Barth, Nominal-bildung, §§ 25c, 76c.
8. *Ib.*, 25a, 76b.
9. Nöldeke, Mand. Gram. § 183.
10. *Ib.* § 13d f., p. 105.
11. In New Hebrew the letter ך is used to indicate doubling; cf. Strack and Siegfried, § 15g.
12. Nöldeke, Syr. Gr. § 4. Duval, § 50.
13. Barth, however, in *Etymolog. Studien*, p. 50, suggests possibility of relation between שבב and شب.

14. M. Šab. ii. 4, b. 29b. M. Ter. x. 3.
15. Gesenius Kautzsch, § 122 r, will hardly apply here.
16. Die Eleusinische Mysterien im Tempel zu Jerusalem in Brill's *Populär Wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter*, xvii. 170.
17. Dictionary of Targ. s.v.
18. So throughout the chapter. See D.S. ad loc.
19. Barth, Nominal-bildung, § 92a.
20. Ib. 82c, p. 129.
21. Ib. 56b.
22. Ib. 57.
23. Del. Hwb., p. 171.
24. Heb. יום הולדת = Targ. יום בית ולדא
25. The waw in שואבה or שואבה, which latter is also the reading of (Brit. Museum) MS. Or. 2,218, must be a late insertion through a misunderstanding.
26. G. Dalman, Worte Jesu, p. 96.
27. Cf. also the expression מלוי מים, M. Suc. v. 5.
28. M. ib. v. 2.
29. Ib. iv. 1, v. 1, החליל המישה וששה
30. Tos. Suc. iv. 5 (198<sup>16</sup>). J. ib. v. 2. 55a (1, 23), b. ib. 53a.
31. Yad Lulab. viii. 12.
32. b. Suc. 51a.

33. b. Suc. 50b. Tos. Erech. i. 13 (545<sup>5</sup>) in accordance with which the first אֵינוּ in Tos. Suc. iv. 14 (beginning of 199<sup>18</sup>) must be deleted. J. Suc. 55a (31 f.).

34. M. Suc. v. 2.

35. Contra Apion, ii. 8.

36. Cf. Ant. XV. xi. 3. M. Mid. ii. 1.

37. Ant. XV. xi. 5. Bell. V. v. 2. M. Mid. ii. 3.

38. Ant. ib. Bell ib.

39. For boundaries cf. Bell. V. v. 6.

40. *J.Q.R.* x. 683 ff.

41. Bell V. v. 2.

42. Ib. § 198.

43. Bell V. v. 3 end. Cf. M. Suc. v. 4. Mid. ii. 5. According to the latter these steps were semicircular; and according to M. Mid. iii. 6, the steps were half a cubit in height.

44. Ib. § 204.

45. Cf. Schürer in *Zeitsch f. d. Neutest. Wissen. und d. Kunde d. Urchristenthums*, 1906, p. 57, and the following note.

46. Cf. Büchler, *J.Q.R.* x. 697, note. The eastern gate here spoken of is not at all necessarily the eastern gate of the Women's Hall, as Schürer (l.c.) supposes, but the eastern gate in the Soreg. Since the eastern gates were undoubtedly the most used, they

will all have been larger than the other gates, and so each might be “ τὸν μέγαν ” as against the northern and southern gates. Schürer (l.c.), p. 58, finds a similar discrepancy between M. Mid. i. 4, 5, and ii. 6, as he supposes to exist between Bell. V. v. 2, 3 and Ant. XV. xi. 5, namely, that the former omit, according to his interpretation, the mention of the northern and southern gates of the Women’s Hall. Professor Büchler has, however, demonstrated, *J.Q.R.* x. 692 ff., that the Mishna Mid. ii. 6–Škal. vi. 3, rests on a division of the Temple gates into four northern and four southern ones and five gates facing east to west. That ὁ μὲν ἐντὸς περιβολος in Ant. XV. xi. 5, § 417. refers to the grate of the heathen as opposed to the surrounding wall, i.e. the spaces within that grate, and not, as Professor Büchler supposes (*J.Q.R.* xi. p. 58), to the second wall of the Temple, is evident from the context.

47. Cf. Büchler, *J.Q.R.* x. p. 685.

48. The name חיל will thus be limited to the space between the Soreg on the one hand and the second surrounding wall, plus the wall of the Women’s Hall, on the other, excluding the space between the first surrounding wall and the סורג. This space seems, however, included, according to M. and Tos. Kel. i. 8. Büchler, *J.Q.R.* x. 689, maintains its exclusion, but includes the עזרת נשים. The חיל is, however, mentioned before, and so east of the Women’s Hall in

the Mishna (Kel. i. 8). That the עזרת נשים and the חיל are distinct is further indicated by the fact that in the Tos. Pesachim iii. end (162<sup>20</sup>) R. Eleazar tells us of the third division of those who brought the Paschal sacrifice to the Temple that it went and stayed in the עזרת נשים; and the second division, we are told in J. ib. 32d (21), stayed in the חיל, while the first went to the first surrounding court and the third remained במקומה, which from the Tosefta will mean in the Women's Hall, where it will have entered in preparation for the sacrifice. Thus here, too, the חיל begins after the Soreg. So too the חיל and the עזרת נשים are mentioned separately in Tos. Kel. i. 8 (569. 36, 37), though here given a like degree of sanctity. According to M. Kel. i. 8 the עזרת נשים is given a degree of sanctity between that of the חיל and the עזרה, but not one that would, as Schürer (l.c. p. 61) supposes, exclude those mentioned in M. Sota i. 5 and M. Negaim xiv. 8 from the Women's Hall; for they are then no longer unclean, but requiring only the offering (מחוסר כפורים), to bring which they approach the Nikanor gate; and the Sota, who denies the accusation against her, cannot be condemned before tried, by exclusion from the Women's Hall, which, as we saw, did not form part of, was of a lower degree of sanctity, and on a lower level than, the עזרה. Thus the Nikanor gate may well have been the eastern gate of the

forecourt of women (Büchler, *J.Q.R.* xi. 46 ff.) and not the eastern gate of the Women's Hall (Schürer, l.c. p. 54 ff.), a supposition supported only by Bell V. v. 3, § 205 (cf. Büchler, l.c. 60) and Schürer's emendation (l.c. p. 55) of ib. § 201. Since a like degree of sanctity is ascribed to the Hêl and the Women's Hall in Tos. Kel. i. 8, the שַׁעַר נִקְנָה, Tos. ib. i. 12, and שַׁעַר נִקְנָה, b. Zeb. 116b, may also well be the eastern gate of the Court of Laymen. On the readings שַׁעַר and שַׁעַרִי cf. Büchler, *J.Q.R.* xi. p. 51 f.

49. *J.Q.R.* x. p. 688. The Forecourt of Women (i.e. the Women's Hall) and the terraces (i.e. the spaces of ten cubits) on the north and south sides, on the same level (p. 689). The space of ten cubits is called Hêl (against which cf. above), and from it steps led to the Women's Court in the east and the terraces on the north and south sides.

50. Cf. A. Hildesheimer, "Die Beschreibung d. Herodianischen Tempel bei Josephus und in der Mischna," *Berliner Rabbiner Seminar Jahresbericht*, I., on the twelve and fourteen steps.

51. *J.Q.R.* x. p. 702 ff.

52. Ib. 697 f.

53. M. Suc. v. 2. In O.T. מְנוֹרָה occurs once (2 Kings iv. 10) for candlestick in secular use. According to b. Menachoth,



28b, private, מנורות were not to be made after the manner of the one in the Temple, from which those here mentioned are indeed also dissimilar. Our passage, however, implies the presence of more than one golden candlestick in the Herodian Temple. In 1 Kings vii. 49 we read of ten in the first Temple. Whether any of these were preserved and returned with the Temple spoils brought back from Babylon we cannot say. The second Temple had only one seven-branched candlestick in use in the service of the sanctuary. Sirach xxvi. 22. Cf. Exod. xxv. 31 ff., xxxvii. 17 f.

54. This is to be inferred from b. Suc. 52b, which describes the candlesticks as 50 cubits high. J. ib. 55a (31 bot.) gives 100 cubits as their height, but the exaggeration is there objected to. The figure will have been arrived at etiologically from the statement (M. Suc. v. 3 end) that every courtyard in Jerusalem was illuminated by the light in the Temple during the celebration (cf. below, p. 89). The Jerushalmi, reckoning from the עזרה within which was the Temple, with its height of 100 cubits (M. Mid. iv. 6) make the candlesticks equally high. The Babli will similarly have arrived at its 50 cubits; for Josephus gives the height of the second surrounding wall as 40 cubits (cf. Mid. ii. 4, which says only that the walls were high excepting the east one), and the Women's

Hall was  $7\frac{1}{2}$  cubits below (fifteen steps half a cubit each in height, M. Mid. ii. 3). The lamps were probably set on high pedestals. The halls and courts were, of course, not roofed.

55. ספל: ספלים של זהב = Assy. Saplu, a flat bowl or basin. Del. Hwb. 508. Muss Arnolt, 777. The word occurs only twice in O.T., Jud. v. 25, vi. 38. Cf. Jacob, *Z.A.W.*, 1902, p. 86.

56. This seems to be the only possible result of the various readings; cf. D.S. Suc. p. 162, note "ג," p. 170 note.

57. ילדים מפרחי כהונה. Cf. Assy. Pirḥu, "Sprössling Kind," Del. Hwb. 539b. The פרחי כהונה are met with only in the Temple. This already indicates that they belong to its permanent officials. We find them in M. Tamid i. 1 and M. Mid. i. 8 sleeping with the זקני בית אב. These latter are the officials of the priestly משמר who had charge of the keys of the עזרה, and who are thus identical with the אמרכלין (see Büchler, *Priester und Cultus*, p. 95 ff.). In Taan 29a (towards bottom) we are told that at the destruction of the Temple the פרחי כהונה came together in their various divisions with the keys of the Temple (היכל. MS. M. has מפתחות העזרה; cf. D.S. ad loc.) in their hands and went up to the roof to surrender the keys to God because He had not let them become גזברין נאמנים. Aboth d. R. Nathan, iv. (ed. Schechter, 12b to note 79) gives the same tradition of the בני כהנים

גדולים (so second edition. The first has כהנים גדולים). The כהנים גדולים are, in b. Pesachim 57a, mentioned as monopolizing the higher permanent Temple offices for themselves and their relatives, שהן כהנים גדולים ובניהם גזברין וחתניהם אמרכלין. These are not to be confused with the changing גזברין and אמרכלין of the various משמרות (see Büchler, *Priester und Cultus*, p. 97 ff.). Thus we see the בני כהנים גדולים named as גזברין; also the בני כהנים גדולים in Aboth de R. Nathan corresponding to the פרחי כהונה in b. Taan 29a, these having hoped to become גזברין. So that the פרחי כהונה are obviously the sons of the permanent officials of the Temple who hoped to succeed to its various permanent offices. Possibly the פרחי כהונה slept with the זקני בית אב, because the keys which these latter changing officials used were entrusted to the care of the פרחי כהונה. This result will thus perhaps help to explain the difficulty noted by Professor Büchler (*Priester und Cultus*, p. 97, Note 3), viz., as to what the פרחי כהונה had to do with the keys of the עזרה, the Temple Court, and would point to עזרה rather than היכל as the correct reading in Taan 29a.

58. M. Suc. v. 2 ; b. ib. 52b ; cf. D.S. ib. p. 161, note "י." J. ib. 55b (26 bot.) leaves the point undecided as to whether the phrase ובידיהם כרי שמן של ק"כ לוג means 120 log each or among the four attendants of each lamp-stand ; cf. b. ib. 52b (towards bot.). On the

reading כרי שמן cf. D.S. p. 161, note "ב." The כר (Aram. כרא) was a large vessel for carrying liquids and storing grain (cf. Levy, N.H. s.v.) as opposed to the smaller כוזה (כוזה כוזנתא), which according to Tamid iii. 6 was like a large golden wine cup (קיתון גדול של כד). Levy compares with כר, Arab. كَدَّ to toil severely, harass. Cf. also كَدَّ mortar, and كَدَادَة, what remains at bottom of cooking-pot (Oxford Gesenius, s.v. כדר, p. 461b). We may perhaps draw into the comparison Assyrian Qadada, to bow down, and Qadû Qadûtu, an earthenware vessel (Del. Hwb. 581a). The ק [but cf. ضحك and צחק, Hebrew קרב and Assyrian Kirib (always written with כ) and קרבן with Kur-bannu (but on this latter see *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> p. 596)] and single ד is, however, against an etymological connexion; QADU is perhaps nearer related to قدح, drinking cup. An etymological connexion between these is, however, not clear.

59. המיין. A Persian word (see Fleischer in Levy, *T.W.* i. 201b, s.v.), probably brought by the Jews from Babylon. Josephus, Ant. III. vii. 2 says of it, "While Moses called belt Abenet (אבנט) we call it by a Babylonian name Emia, for it is so called by them." Josephus here describes this המיין as a sash wound round the breast several times and falling to the feet.

60. M. Suk. v. 3=b. Šab. 21a, Yad Kle Miqdash viii. 6 ; cf. J. Suc. v. 55b (25 bot.), מבלאי מכנסי כהן גדול היו מדליקין את הנרות שבפנים ומבלאי מכנסי כהן הדיוט היו מדליקין את הנרות שבחוץ. In Joma 23a it is disputed whether בן ביבאי, who in M. Škl. v. 1 is mentioned as the officer על הפקיע, had charge of the wicks for the lamp or the straps for flagellation (ננרא) ; cf. the following note.

61. M. ib. מפקיעין. The verb not in b.h. According to Strack and Siegfried, § 4b equivalent of בקע by interchange of פ and ב, The roots are, however, more probably distinct, cf. فقع and فقه: Hifil, to split, tear up ; cf. Levy, N.H. ii. 45b (bot.) and iv. 91b ; פקיע is that which is tied or plaited or somehow made of strips, e.g. a bundle, wick, thong. Hence Hifil as denominative, to plait strips into wicks or tear into strips for wicks. Thus here in מבלאי . . . היו מפקיעין ובהן היו מדליקין both Hifils are used apparently intransitively. Cf. similar use of Hifil in מכה (Bikkurim, Note 119) ; cf. Gesenius, Kautzsch, § 53d-g. The uses there noted are thus further extended in the Mishna, which here no doubt preserves for us a further development of late vernacular Hebrew. The objects of the Hifil are here understood by implication.

62. מפשילין is in J. l.c. explained by מפקיעין.

63. So J. Suc. lv.b (35 bot.) in explanation

of the phrase (M. Suc. v. 2), ומתקנין שם תיקון גרול. Some would see in the phrase a reference to the preparations for the illuminations. Others would refer it to the erection of balconies. From M. Mid. ii. 5, however, it would follow that the balcony was a permanent structure. So in b. Suc. 51b the passage is explained by reference to Tos. ib. iv. 1 (198<sup>6</sup>), which tells that at first the men watched the celebration from within, and the women from without, but that as this led to levity there were three balconies erected on the three sides of the עזרה, whence the women watched the festivities, and so the mingling of the sexes was prevented. From the comment of the Talmud (b., l.c.) it is clear that the separation of the sexes was an innovation. The word עזרה is here loosely used for עזרת נשים, which had three walls, the fourth being formed by the rock on which the temple stood and occupied by the steps to the court of laymen. פל, Pael, is to reform, as against the Afel אפל to create. (But also to prepare, set up.) תפל also "to fix, arrange, prepare, etc." In N.H. Piel and Hifil, to arrange, to emend, to institute (so also in Targum). In b.h. rare and late Qal. inf. Ecl. i. 15, to be straight. Piel, make straight, arrange. Cf. Ecl. xii. 9 inf. and Ecl. vii. 13. In Targum תיקונא denotes ornamentation (cf. Levy, T.W. ii. 553b). Assyrian Tiquu. Del. Hwb. 713. This meaning

does not seem to hold good in N.H. for תקון, however. The phrase thus simply means they made a great preparation, with תקון as مطلق, after the Piel part.

64. גוֹזֵזְרָא, v.l. כְּסוּסְטְרָא, etc. Gk. ἐξώστρα. Cf. S. Kraus, Lehnwörter, ii. 170b; cf. Strack and Siegfried, § 17a. Anm. on omission of prosthetic, ε=(א). Cf § 22b end. See § 20 on transcription of ξ, § 23a. Syncope of τ: כְּצוֹצְרָא, probably through inversion of סט in כְּסוּסְטְרָא and assimilation of first ס. M. Oholoth xiv. 1, הָיָה שֶׁפָּנִיה לַמַּטֶּה, וְהַגִּיזְרָה שֶׁפָּנִיה לַמַּעֲלָה. The contexts (see quotations in Aruch. s.v.) indicate that זִיז is a ledge as opposed to the גוֹזֵזְרָא, balcony. So Rashi b. B.B. 60a, יִזְיִן קוֹרוֹת קַמְנֹת גוֹזֵזְרָאוֹת קוֹרוֹת, גְּדוּלוֹת. Cf. b. Erubin, 98b, זִיז שֶׁלפְּנֵי הַחֲלוֹן. M. Oholoth xiv. 2, זִיז שֶׁעַל גְּבִי הַפֶּתַח. M. Oholoth xiv. 5, שְׁנֵי יִזְיִין זֶה עַל גְּבִי זֶה יֵשׁ בְּהֵן פּוֹתַח, מַפֵּחַ וּבִי נִיהֵן פּוֹתַח מַפֵּחַ.

65. חֲסִידִים וְאֲנָשִׁי מַעֲשֶׂה. Cf. Yad Lulab. viii. 14. The juxtaposition with אֲנָשִׁי מַעֲשֶׂה also indicates that under חֲסִידִים priests are not meant. Cf. Blau, *R.E.J.* xxxi. 147.

66. M. Suc. v. 4. Yad, l.c.

67. Yad, l.c. viii. 13. Tos. Erechin i. 13. Cf. M. ib. ii. 3 and p. 6 f.

68. b. Suc. 53a, Tos. ib. xiv. 4 (198<sup>14</sup>). J. ib. 55a has אֲבוֹקוֹת שֶׁל זֶהָב for אֲוֵר שֶׁל אֲוֵר.

69. Cf. note 11. See Levy, N.H. s.v. J. Suc. lv. c. top reads כְּרִיעָה.

70. So J. l.c. גודלו, b. Suc. liii. b. שני גודליו. Tos. ib. iv. 4 אצבע : אצבעו stands in b.h. for finger and toe (2 Sam. i. 20=1 Chron. xx. 6).

71. Cf. Meg. xxii. 6, קידה על אפים . . . כריעה על ברכים.

72. In Tos. Suc. iv. 2 (198<sup>9</sup> ff.) and J. ib. 55b (9 bot. ff.) these formulae are given in the sing. In b. ib. 53a in the plural. The last two are represented as having been said by the אנשי מעשה, the men of pious action, and the בעלי תשובה, the penitent, respectively.

73. Tos. Suc. iv. 3 (198<sup>12</sup>), b. ib. 53a; cf. Rashi. In the latter the same is quoted in Aramaic in the name of R. Johanan; cf. following note.

74. The J. Suc. 55b (5 bot.). Here the first phrase is represented as a rebuke "when Hillel saw them acting in unbridled licence." The second phrase, "when he saw them acting with propriety." כד הוה חמי לון עבדין בפחו הוה אמר לון דאנן הכא מאן הכא . . . כד הוה חמי לון עבדין בכושר הוה אמר די לא נן הכא מאן הכא כד, "while," "when," should be added as an adverb of time to Dalman, Gr. § 43 (cf. Strack and Siegfried, § 84b). די or ד = אי = דאין; דא = אי; cf. Dal. Gr. p. 175 bot. The Babli gives both phrases connected, and in Hebrew, but in different form, viz., אם אני כאן הכל כאן ואם איני כאן מי כאן "If I am here, all is here; and if I am not here, who is here?" The fact that the Jerushalmi inserts motives and commentary



as well as the third person לן would indicate that it is a narrative on the basis of a more terse original preserved in the Hebrew of the Babli. There אני must, of course, mean God. In that case it will have been popularized and tradited in Aramaic, and its form accordingly altered to make its point (cf. below p. 89) more clear. Yet the terse Hebrew dictum is more probably worked up from the historical data as preserved in the Jerushalmi, which would tell us that Hillel called them to a sense of self-respect by reminding them that their presence at the celebration was intended to prevent evil practices by others.

75. Cf. below.

76. M. Suc. v. 4. Tos. ib. iv. 7 (198<sup>27</sup>). According to Maimonides (Lulab. viii. 13) it would seem that neither the singing nor the musical accompaniment was on this occasion confined to the Levites. It is matter of dispute whether the Levites alone formed the orchestra and choir in the regular Temple service. See Tos. Erechin i. 15, M. ib. ii. 4, . . . אלו הן ככין לפני המזבח. The root נכה (cf. Note 61), which is never used in the O.T. for playing on an instrument, is, as far as I know, so used in the Talmud only in the Hifil participle, and then with חליל. This, however, need not exclude a more general application in the above phrase, so that the dispute need not be limited to the players of

the flute (as by Büchler, *Priester und Cultus*, 127 f.) ; cf. b. Suc. 51a, Rashi, top of page. Prof. Büchler decides in favour of the Levitical composition of the choir and orchestra on the דוכן (i.e. לפני המזבח, *J.Q.R.* x. p. 692 note), and traces the permission for laymen to join with the Levites to the influence of the Pharisee victory. This participation was, according to M. Erechin ii. 6, limited to singing by children. Sirach, l. 18, 19, ייתן השיר קולו ועל המון העריכו נרו וירנו כל, would seem to exclude laymen from the שיר, as also would J. Taan, 67d (17 bot.), והשיר משורר אלו חלויים. M. Mid. ii. 6 tells us of instruments which the Levites stored in chambers, under the Hall of Laymen, that opened into the Women's Hall, which must have been chambers in the western rock wall of the Women's Hall. Some of these instruments could only have been meant for the Feast of Water Drawing (cf. Büchler, *J.Q.R.* x. 699). Furthermore, M. Suc. v. 4 names the Levitical musicians as distinct from the celebrants themselves. We may therefore conclude that the musical performance was entrusted to the Levites.

77. Tos. Suc. iv. 7 (199<sup>1</sup>).

78. This seems to follow from the reading מַה הוּא אוֹמֵר. Tos. l.c. cf. M. Škl. v. 1, הוֹגֵרוֹס, בן לוי על השיר, and M. Joma iii. 11.

79. The reading וברכו את ה' וג' is obviously

necessary, for the next quotation is Ps. cxxviii. 5, 6.

80. Grätz, *Monatschrift*, 1879, p. 244 f.

81. Tos. Suc. iv. 9 (199<sup>2</sup>).

82. M. Suc. v. 4. The variant reading of MS. M., שני אנשים, being corrected to שני כהנים in the quotation in 53a, may be neglected (cf. Note 187); while the Tosefta variant ושתי הצוצרות בירם with no subject explicit, is too vague to justify the inference that the men were Levites [see D.S. Suc. p. 162, note "ר." This variant of the Tosefta is not in Zuckerman's edition (198<sup>27</sup>)], especially as the הצוצרות were, in the Temple service, particularly priestly instruments (cf. next note), and used in the Levitical orchestra only in the celebration of this Water Feast, if then (cf. D.S. for v.l., which omits הצוצרות from among the instruments of the orchestra).

83. הצוצרות: Descriptions in Josephus, Ant. III. xii. 6) tally with the representations on Bar Cochba coins and the Arch of Titus. Num. x. 1 gives two trumpets of silver. According to 2 Chron. v. 12, Solomon's Temple had twelve. From the Arch of Titus it would seem there were two in Herod's Temple. It was almost exclusively a priestly instrument; cf. Num. x. 8; Neh. xii. 41; M. Tos. Sot. vii. 15, הצוצרות של זהב. M. Tamid vii. 3; cf. Sirach l. 16, אז יריעו בני אהרן

... בחצוצרות מקשה. Num. x. 8, 10, xxxi. 6 ; 2 Chron. xiii. 12, 14, xxix. 26 ; cf. 28. See Benzinger, *Archaeologie*, 277.

84. So Grätz, *Monatschrift*, 1879, p. 245.

85. Ib. p. 197 ; but the first two verses hang too closely together for the first of these alone to have formed the response. b. Suc. 38b of course quotes the first verse of Ps. cxiii., not of Ps. cxxxv.

86. קרא הגבר תקע והריעו ותקעו. The meaning of גבר in this passage is matter of dispute. The phrase קריאת הגבר denotes the dawn in M. Joma i. 8, M. Tamid i. 2 (versus the sunrise in iii. 2). Hence the phrase is rendered "the crowing of the cock," the cock being called גבר on account of its strength ! Some support might be found for this view in b. Beṣa, 25b, שלשה עזין הן, ישראל באומות כלב בחיות, תרנגול בעופות. In b. Joma 20b it is disputed whether גבר means "man," "officer," or תרנגול, "cock." In J. Suc. 55c (28)=J. Škl. 48d (25 bot.) it is inferred from M. Škl. v.l. (בן גבר על נעילת שערים) that גבר cannot mean cock, and our phrase קרא הגבר is rendered קרא גברא, אכריו כרו. It is worth noting that the same difficulty is experienced with the ἀλεκτροφων ἵπος, which Lucian speaks of in connexion with the very similar celebration in honour of the Dea Syria at Hieropolis ; cf. Wieland, *Lucianus Sämmtliche Werke*, Theil 5, p. 337 f. (Note 45). Grätz, *Monatschrift*, 1885, p. 281, would alter קרא הגבר to קרא בן גבר,

and place this officer in charge of both the opening and closing of the Temple gates. The Tosefta Škl. ii. 14 (177<sup>2</sup>) names Johanan b. Gudgeda for the latter office. It is suggested that, from the name and office of **בן גבר**, the word **גבר** came to be used generally for Porter; but out of the present context the word does not occur in this usage. Büchler, *Priester und Cultus*, p. 143, thinks both the above-named officers assisted at both offices. The **ריאת הגבר** would thus denote the call of **בן גבר**, or—if we follow Prof. Büchler—of both officers, to their assistants to open the Temple gates; for the context, wherever the phrase occurs, makes the call take place only at dawn. From this latter fact it would, however, seem to follow that **הגבר**, without emendation, denotes a third unnamed officer whose duty it was to announce the dawn (cf. Levy, N.H. s.v. and Bertinoro to M. Tamid, i. 2). From this circumstance **קריאת הגבר** came to be mistakenly rendered “the crowing of the cock.” The meaning of cock for **גבר** is limited to the Talmud, which itself doubts and rejects that rendering. Even on the basis of b. Beša, 25b, the cock would be the only animal with a by-name on account of its strength! That the meaning is late and secondary is further indicated by the formation of the adverb **גברית** by adding **ית** *directly* to the *noun* against Hebrew usage, but on the analogy of the Assyrian adverbs in *šis* from nouns. Cf. **קדרנית**, **אחרנית**.

with inserted נ (I Sam. iv. 18 ; Mal. iii. 14). The etymological connexion between the adverbial ending -iš in Assyrian and ית in Hebrew is doubted, but this would not affect the building of a form on analogy. It would emphasize the late date of the form. Lastly, the meaning cock for נבר is not supported by any other Semitic language. Venetianer, l.c. p. 177, would identify this official with the *ἱεροκήρυξ* of the Eleusinian Mysteries, with whose varied offices (cf. Stengel, *Griechische Kultus-alterthümer*), the only one here attributed to this official—granted הנבר can be so interpreted—surely shows no relation.

87. In these two priests we have no doubt nothing more than an arrangement for signalling parallel to that of the two priests who at the daily sacrificial service took their station by Ben Arza, the officer who, by striking the cymbal, gave the Levites the sign to begin their song. The priests blew their trumpets at each chapter of song in the sacrificial service, after which the people prostrated themselves. M. Tamid vii. 3 ; cf. Tos. Škl. ii. 14. As all signals seem to have been given by two priests—hence two trumpets in the Temple (cf. Note 88)—those here mentioned are possibly the same. Venetianer, l.c. 177, would identify those two priests with the *ἱεροφάντης* of the Eleusinian Mysteries, in, which, however, these were

high officials, whereas our two priests are not even distinctly named. The above-named formulae can hardly be the equivalent of the *λεγόμενα*, and surely needed no interpretation. They were spoken by the celebrants. We hear of no secret sacred objects or customs to be shown or explained. The leader of the song is named in M. Škl. v. 1 as *הונרוס* *בן לוי על השיר*, and he surely was not one of our two priests; neither have we evidence of the offices of the *δάδουχος* (cf. Stengel, op. cit.) applying to either of them.

88. b. Suk. 53b raises and leaves undecided the question as to whether the tenth step from the top or bottom is meant. The fact, however, indicates that the Mishna, too, knew of the stairs to the gates as divided into flights of five steps; cf. Jos. Bell. V. v. 2; cf. above, p. 72.

89. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the trumpets were sounded here (cf. Tos. Suc. iv. 10 (1996), and Büchler, *J.Q.R.* x. 695, note.

90. M. Suk. v. 4, here called *שער היוצא למזרח* in contrast to *שער העליון שיורר מעזרת ישראל לעזרת נשים*. In the next following paragraph the two gates are described as *שער העליון* and *שער התחתון*. A *שער העליון* is mentioned as the most westerly of the northern gates of the second surrounding wall in M. Mid. ii. 6 = Škl. vi. 3. The name thus indicates position only. The two gates here mentioned in con-

trast are therefore most likely the higher and lower, i.e. the western and eastern gates of the Women's Hall.

91. Gesch. ii. 179.

92. M. Suc. v. 4. So J. ib. v. 5 (55a top) ואנו ליה וליה עינינו, for which Babli has simply ואנו ליה עינינו. The expression **היו שונין**, "They used to repeat," would point to correctness of Babylonian recension. According to Jerushalmi, **אנו** for **ואנו** is the only difference in the Babylonian recension. **שונין** would then have the meaning of the Piel **משנין**, "change," "make or show up a distinction." The Babli, however, may be a correction on the basis of a rule it quotes, **האומר מודים מודים כאילו אומר שמע שמע**.

93. M. Suc. iv. 5. The subject of **יורדין** is not mentioned. From b. Suc. 44b, **כהנים בעלי**, מומין נכנסין בין האולם ולמזבח כדי לצאת בערבה, it follows that the duty of setting up the **ערבה** around the altar was performed by the priests. In b. Suc. 53b (towards bottom; cf. Tos. ib. iii. 1 [195<sup>20</sup> ff.]) the subject of **הביאו** and **יהניחום בעזרה** is equally obscure. b. Suc. 43b tells us **ערבה שלוחי בית דין מייתי לה**. That the setting up of the poplar twigs around the altar was a late institution is indicated by the statement of R. Johanan that the setting up of the twigs on the seventh and last day of the festival was not omitted even when that day was on a Sabbath, **כדי לפרסמו שהוא**, a proceeding followed by Pharisees



in cases of ceremonies introduced by them against Sadducee opposition. Cf. Chwolson, *Das Letzte Passahmal Jesu*, p. 18. J. H. Weiss, *דור דור ודורשיו*, p. 118.

94. *מוצא*. M. Suc. iv. 5 called in both Talmudim *קולניא*, because free from imposts. Koulonijeh is a village north-east of Jerusalem. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i. 461. See Neubauer, *Geog. d. Talmud*, p. 153.

95. *מורביות של ערבה*.

96. M. Suc. iv. 5.

97. That the water was fetched in procession follows from the plural *הניעו*. M. Suc. iv. 9; J. ib. iv. 7. What ceremonies, if any, took place at the water-drawing is not recorded. Lucian records of the water-drawing at Hieropolis that it was performed amidst great ceremony, but is also unable to say what it was there.

98. From Grätz's combination of Jos. Ant. XIV. xiii. 5 and Tos. Suc. iii. 16 (197<sup>22</sup> ff.), and the generally accepted conclusion thereof, viz. that Alexander Janai is the priest to whom the Tosefta refers and the water libation is the occasion of which Josephus speaks, it would follow that the water libation was originally performed by the High Priest. This agrees with our knowledge that the High Priest officiated on tabernacles; cf. 1 Macc. x. 15-21. Jos. Ant. XIII. xiii. 5; XV. v. 3 (the other

permanent priestly officials not even then. See Büchler's *Priester und Cultus*, p. 96). From Suc. iv. 9 it would follow that the High Priest was deprived of the privilege of performing the water libation; for the סגן, who after the Pharisee victory always accompanied the High Priest when he officiated, is not mentioned here (Büchler, l.c. p. 110 f.). No doubt, although not recorded, lots were cast for the priest who was to perform the libation, as for those who were to perform the other acts of the morning sacrifice (M. Tamid iii. 1). The former is not mentioned because not belonging to the ordinary daily sacrificial service with the officers for which alone the Mishna is concerned. The drawing of lots for the privilege of the priestly sacrificial offices has been proved a consequence of the Pharisee victory by Prof. Büchler (l.c.).

99. M. Suc. iv. 9, צלוחית של זהב מחזקת שלשה לונין. The Hifil of חזק in N.H. in the sense of אחז. Here "to contain."

100. M. ib. The most easterly of the south gates of the second surrounding wall, called שער המים, because the procession with the water for the libation entered through it. M. Mid. ii. 6; Škl. vi. 3. According to another view, the water (stream forming the source of the Siloa) began to well up there. Tos. Suc. iii. 3 (195-6); cf. b. Joma, 31a. See Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 146.

According to Mid. ii. 6, Škl. vi. 3, the water gate is a fourth gate in the south wall, thus the south gate of the Women's Hall (cf. Schürer, *Ztsch. f. d. Neutest. Wissen. und Kunde d. Urchristentums*, 1906, p. 58); but the order of the names is, as Schürer admits, here badly preserved, and we may, no doubt, with Büchler, *J.Q.R.* x. 693, see the side gate of the Women's Hall in the שַׁעַר הַנְּשִׁים and the שַׁעַר הַשִּׁיר. The name of the first points to this and of the second also, for the musical instruments were, we saw, stored in chambers that opened into the Women's Hall.

101. Smith, *Sem.*<sup>2</sup> p. 231, would see in this trumpet blowing in the Temple an intended imitation of thunder.

102. עלה בכבש. Cf. M. Mid. iii. 2.

103. b. Suc. 48b.

104. M. Suc. iv. 9. Tos. ib. iii. 16 (197<sup>10</sup>), ספלים של כסף. According to R. Jehuda they were of סיד, gypsum, blackened through wine. Venetianer, l.c. 177-8, sees in R. Jehuda's tradition another point of contact with the Eleusinian Mysteries. The bowls of silver were probably also introduced after the Pharisee victory in order to remove all appearance of an offering to the Chthonic gods. Cf. below, p. 87; cf. also note 108.

105. b. Suc. 48b. Here it is also said that R. Jehuda's tradition speaks of two flat basins, קשוואות, of which the one with a large

mouth, **פיה רחב**, was for the wine, and with a small mouth, **פיה קצר**, for the water. According to Rashi, *ad loc.*, these were spouts with holes bored in them. The Tosafoth object to the complicated interpretation, substituting holes in the bowls on the basis of the similar expression in M. Mid. iii. 2. Sirach, l. 14 f., would indicate that the libations were generally poured from not simply through the bowls. The expressions **הוטם** and **פה** will thus indicate spouts. The holes seem invented unnecessarily, and etiologically to explain the simultaneous exhaustion of the wine and water. No doubt the **שני נקבים**, which are further explained by **כמין שני הוטמין דקין** in Mid. iii. 2, were also some slight indentations that served as spouts from the altar.

106. See note 108.

107. This would seem to follow from Tos. Suc. iii. 16 (197<sup>21</sup>) . . . **מאימתי מנסכין אותה** . . . **עם איברי תמיד**, b. Joma 26b (cf. Rashi); cf. Sirach l. 14, 15, where the wine libation is poured out after the sacrifice, and, as is characteristic of the North Semitic rite (Smith, *Sem.*<sup>2</sup> p. 213), in contrast to Greek (Stengel, *l.c.*), not on the flesh of the offering, but at the base of the altar. Cf. Jos. Ant. III. ix. 4.

108. According to J. Suc. 54a (23), cf. Maim. Yad T'midin, x. 7, the libation might be performed before the sacrifice, as, indeed,

seems to have been the case in the incident recorded of Alexander Janai, of which Josephus tells us that the people pelted him with citrons as he stood by the altar about to offer. It was perhaps to emphasize their dissent from the view that Alexander's action typified (cf. below, p. 87 f.) that the water libation and that of the wine were carefully connected as described (see Note 106), and it was not even insisted that the wine and water should be poured into, and the libation performed, from two separate vessels. M. Suc. iv. 9, Yad l.c., Tos. Suc. iii. 14.

109. One of the most archaic specimens of Babylonian art (Heuzey in De Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 209) represents a worshipper, entirely naked, pouring a libation into a large cup which stands on the altar. Cf. also the *adagur*-vessel placed on the altar for the libation in the sin offering of the Babylonian rite. See J. Morgenstern, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*) 1905, Heft iii. p. 104).

110. The usual libations of wine were performed at the base of the altar (cf. Note 107). The combination of this wine libation with the one of water during the Feast of Tabernacles will have caused it to be poured with the water on the hearth of the altar (cf. Note 108). The Tosefta Suc. iii. 14 end (197<sup>13</sup>) seems somewhat confused. The

phrase **וּמִנְקֵבִין כַּמִּין ב' חוֹטְמִין דָּקִין** we would expect to refer to the bowls, **סַפְלִים**, as in M. Suc. iv. 9. The following words, **שְׁבֹהֵן יוֹרְדִין לַסִּילֹן**, however, point rather to a reference to Mid. iii. 2, where we are told of the southwestern corner of the altar that there were **שְׁנֵי נִקְבִים כַּמִּין שְׁנֵי חוֹטְמִין דָּקִין שְׁהֵרָמִים . . . יוֹרְדִין בָּהֶן . . . וְיוֹצְאִין לְנַחַל קֶרְדֶּן**. The concluding words of the Tosefta, **וְשִׁבְנָאוּ מִי שִׁבְנָה אֶת הַהִיכָל**, would lead us to expect **שִׁית** rather than **סִילֹן** as the antecedent of the pronoun in **בְּנָאוּ** (**סִילֹן** is variant for **שִׁלוּ**). On interchange of **ס** and **ש** cf. Strack and Siegfried, § vii. c. **שִׁלוּ**=**שִׁלּוּחַ**; cf. Neubauer, p. 145, note 4.) The next Tosefta (l. 14) indeed reads **יוֹרְדִין לַשִּׁית**. It would seem that the **שִׁית**, or base of the altar, was in some way connected with the **קֶרְדֶּן**; cf. Neubauer, p. 147, and Tos. Suc. iii. 15 (197<sup>15</sup>), J. ib. 54d (top), **הַשִּׁית הִיא נִקּוֹב עַד הַתְּהוֹם**. According to M. Mid. iii. 3, there was a marble tablet with a ring for those who went down to clear the **שִׁית**. According to Tos. l.c. (i. 19) this was done once in seventy years by the **פְּרָחֵי כְּהוֹנָה**.

111. Possibly **הַגְּבֵה יָדֵךְ** alone formed the content of the exhortation. What follows in M. Suc. iv. 9 briefly recapitulates the event which is described in greater detail in Tos. Suc. iii. 16 (197<sup>22</sup> f.), and so may be simply an explanation of the brief formula. Cf. Note 98.

112. M. Suc. iv. 5. These trumpet signals are, however, disputed. M. Suc. v. 4 men-

tions signals on the tenth step, instead of which ib. v. 5 has those לפני המזבח ; cf. Tos. ib. iv. 10 (199<sup>6</sup>). See Note 89.

113. Cf. b. Suc. 13b and Jos. Ant. XIII. xiii. 5.

114. M. Suc. iv. 5. R. Jehuda tradits the procession as taking place to the cry of אני ה" זהו שמו של ; cf. b. Šab. 104a, והו הושיעה נא. J. Suc. iv. 3 reads והוא. Cf. Arab. use of هو. See Levy, N.H. s.v. אני, i. p. 110b. On הו for הוא Strack and Siegfried, § 27a. I would suggest it possible that buried under this apparently meaningless but in any case difficult sentence we are to see that R. Jehuda declared the "Name" was pronounced, and that in reduction to writing and transmission אנה יהו was corrupted to אני יהו, being mistaken for הוא and אנה corrected accordingly to אני. For יהו the recently discovered Aramaic papyri from Assouan speak (Sayce and Cowley, Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assouan, 1906 ; E. Sachau, Die aramaische Papyrusurkunden aus Assouan, p. 25) : Plutarch tells us that the Jews called Evohé in the Temple (cf. Note 128). This would point to the full name having been called.

115. חבית של זהב שאינה מקודשת מן השלוח would seem to mean, not sanctified by water being drawn in it from the Siloa. (Note the vessel for the water-drawing is called צלוחית, a flat basin, ἀπ. λεγ. in b.h., צלחית, 2 Kings ii. 20.

The **חבית** was a larger vessel for storing purposes, and made of clay ordinarily.

**سَمَكَة خَالِيَة**. See Fleischer in Levy, N.H. ii. 202a). Thus, if the water is spilt, we are told it is simply filled again from the laver. It would therefore seem that the first water was from the Siloa, but not drawn in the **חבית**.

116. M. Suc. iv. 1. Tos. ib. iii. 1 (195<sup>19</sup> f.), b. ib. 43b.

117. Cf. M. Roš. Hašana, i. 2, **בחג נדון על** ומפני מה אמרה תורה נסכו מים בחג, **המים**, b. ib. 16a, **אמר הקב"ה נסכו לפני מים בחג כדי שית ברכו לכם גשמי שנה**.

118. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> i. pp. 81 ff. (Peculiarly acted in Fez: see Goldziher, *Nöldeke Festschrift*, p. 312, Bez).

119. In accordance with this verse, the celebration of the Water Feast is metaphorically interpreted in J. Suc. 55a (23 bot.) ; Gen. R. lxx. 8 ; Ruth R. xii. end, as an occasion for drawing religious inspiration. It is interesting to note that the Eleusinian Mysteries are praised for producing a similar effect on the participants. The word **מים** is often interpreted as **תורה** in the Talmud: cf. Munk, *Guide des Egarés*, i. 30, note 2.

120. Smith, Sem. 183.

121. G. Hoffmann in *Z.A.* xi. 241, 246, who connects with **יָרַד** the descent to the water.



122. See J. Levy in *R.E.J.* 1901 (43).

123. Cf. above, Hillel's dicta.

124. John vii. 37 f. is attributed to this occasion, as also is John viii. 12.

125. Smith, *Sem.* p. 182 f.

126. *Studien*, ii. 170.

127. b. *Suc.* 34a ; 44a ; 48b. *Moed Qatan* 3b ; *Zeb.* 110b ; *J. Suc.* 54a. *J. Šab.* 33b. and b. *Šab.* 103a. *Taan.* 2b. Cf. Bacher, *Exeget. Terminologie*, i. 182, on רמז.

128. Plutarch, *Symp.* IV. vi. 2 (cf. v. 3). Tacitus, *Historiae*, v. 5. Büchler, *R.E.J.* xxxvii. 181 ff. Herzfeld, *Gesch.* ii. 180.

129. Cf. below for similar tradition at Hieropolis.

130. Cf. Dr. Paul Stengel, *Die Griechische Kultusaltertümer*, ii. (1898), pp. 208, 210.

131. ii. p. 125 ; cf. 123, 179 f.

132. Cf. Hubert in *R.E.J.* xxxvi. 318.

133. Budissin, *Studien*, ii. 199, 201. Adonis born of the Myrtle (ib. 188), of the Palm, תמר (ib. 202). The citron, אתרוג, was a symbol of the fructification of the earth (ib. 209).

134. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte* (1888), p. 30 ff. Religious prostitution also in the cult of Ištar of Erech in Babylon. *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> p. 422.

135. Cf. p. 89 (on Hillel's dictum con-

cerning the floating head). Cf. Adolferman, Hdbk. of Egyptian Religion, p. 251, 215.

136. Cf. the Carpentras inscription at the bottom of the representation of a funeral, מן קדם אוסירי מים קחי. Cf. Erman, o.c. p. 95 f. In the Babylonian religion a water libation is poured out to the ghosts of the dying man's family. See Morgenstern, l.c. p. 126.

137. עתר עתה. Baethgen, p. 69. Cf. Jensen, Hittiter quoted in *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> 484<sup>4</sup>.

138. The Babylonian form Ištar also points to an originally male (or, with Baethgen, sexless) god. *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> 420<sup>3</sup>; cf. 424 ff.

139. Cf. C. Bezold in *Kultur d. Gegenwart* (edt. P. Hinnenberg), I. iii. 1, p. 42. Cf. *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> i. 42<sup>3</sup> re similar relations of Ištar of Erech and of Akkad.

140. On the Annunkai cf. also Hrozný, in *Mittheilungen d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1903, Theil 5, Seite 98.

141. Morgenstern, *Mitt. d. V. A. Ges.* 1905, Theil 3, pp. 29, 48, 50, 92. Nergel, who in the season he spends in the under-world becomes Nin Azu, the lord who understands water, is also a god of vegetation, as is the case with Marduk, ib. p. 51. According to *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> p. 430, the character of Ištar as a goddess of vegetation is not emphasized.

142. See Büchler, *Eine Einzelheit des Astartedienstes in d. Psalmen Salomos*, in *Vierteljahrschrift f. Bibelkunde*, i. (1903-4), pp. 4 ff.

143. Cf. Morgenstern, l.c. 51. The second paragraph of the eighteen benedictions may well, as is generally assumed, have been enlarged by Maccabean insertions. Its original form may, none the less, have been a transference in protest of the attributes applied to Marduk, "the merciful one, with whom rests the power to restore life," and "the god who brings forth vegetation," from Marduk to God. Thus also the question as to why the prayers for rain and dew are inserted in this paragraph, which treats specifically of the revival of the dead, finds its natural answer.

144. *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> p. 525<sup>6</sup>—iv. R. 60, 21a, speaks of *mê būri* spring water in the Temple of Marduk from which the *ēgubbû*, the vessel for the sanctifying water, is filled.

145. The waters of the Tigris as well as of springs were sacred. Morgenstern, l.c. pp. 30-31; *K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> 525.

146. In the fact that the water libation was poured out *on* the altar, whereas other libations were poured to its base (cf. above, Note 107) we may trace Babylonian influence (cf. Note 109).

147. Die Ssabier, ii. 329, cf. 319.





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